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SOCIOLOGY IN THE TVA*

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EVERY professional man is a layman in many fields other than his own. In our highly specialized society the knowledge of a well-qualified specialist in any field is in extreme contrast to the rudimentary ignorance of the average man in that field. The able specialist in one subject may be an intolerant tyro in another. It might seem that if in each particular field of human activity public policy could be determined by those best qualified in that field, social evolution might be much accelerated. Yet there is a limit to the applicability of that philosophy. The best alchemists and astrologers were not superlative leaders. In Roman times the most skillful augurs would examine the entrails of an animal and from them foretell events. Perhaps the layman's judgment of coming events was as good, even though he might not have mastered the complex rules of divination necessary to join the College of Augurs. In the long run the layman must judge the expert, even though his judgment be crude.

Many millions of years ago different species of social insects started on the road of specialization with various queens, workers, and other highly specialized forms. The mammals have been persistent generalists. Except for the specialization we call sex, no biological specialization so far as I know has persisted in any species of mammals. Except for sex, any individual of any species of mammal has it in him in general to take the place of any other individual. So far as I know, man and the animals he trains are the only mammals which specialize beyond the temporary assumption of leadership or slight division of labor.

A highly specialized human society sometimes develops a remarkable increase of power. Great climaxes of power and culture may largely be explained by a great increase of specialization of function and a great division of labor. Yet in that process of specialization there comes to be a narrowing of outlook. The generalist disappears. Now there are two classes

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of functions in any normal society—the specialized work of men or groups of men, and the generalized functions of society as a whole. The carpenter, the lawyer, the engineer, and the sociologist each has his peculiar work to do. Yet, unless society as a whole has a generalized understanding of many fields it will do a bad job in selecting its lawyers, its engineers, and its sociologists. And beyond that, when doctors disagree, society as a whole must decide. Democratic people must exercise judgment in educational policy, fiscal policy, economic policy, sociological policy, and they can do so intelligently only as widely generalized and widely distributed knowledge includes those fields. One plausible explanation for the breakdown of great climaxes of human culture is that there came to be so many specialists and so few generalists that the coordinating and integrating forces of society became too weak to make effective synthesis of the riot of specialization. A human culture does not long remain stable on a plane much higher than that of the generalized culture of the governing class. That is a rash and dogmatic statement, subject to exceptions and qualifications, but it has merit, and particularly so as regards a democracy.

In two respects these remarks are pertinent to my subject. First, specialized sociological effort cannot long be maintained in any organization except as it is in some degree understood and respected by those who control the destinies of that organization. In a democracy, that controlling force is the public. Second, it is not enough for the sociologists and other professionals to be specialists. They must have that broad interest in and respect for other fields which enables them to integrate sociology with other activities into an effective whole. Especially in large public organizations the insularity of widely separated specialists does much to destroy the usefulness of them all.

When the building of a great dam is under consideration, one of the early necessities is to explore the foundation. That is the work of the geologists. Then an examination must be made of the ownership of the land and of the condition of the titles. That work falls to the abstractors. The structural design of the dam itself is the function of civil engineers, while the planning of the construction equipment goes to the mechanical engineers. In the meantime, there are many legal matters to be determined, which fall to the lawyers, while the securing of adequate funds requires the services of financial experts.

As the work proceeds, many elements appear which are concerned chiefly with human relations. Lands in the reservoir site must be acquired, and many families must be moved. In each particular case a great variety of personal and social issues are involved. In housing the labor force the nearby towns and other housing facilities may be overcrowded, and sanitary problems may arise. Proprietors of gambling houses and drinking houses enter the scene in hope of making money from the casual laborers,

and new complications enter. As the labor force is assembled, problems of labor relations and of union relationship emerge. All these matters of human relations are problems in applied sociology.

As an abstract science, some people may think that they can isolate sociology from other aspects of human activity. In its practical applications, however, such separation never is possible. In almost every case applied sociology will be found to be only one phase of a complex of activity. The sociological component cannot be isolated and treated by itself. It must be considered in relation to the current of events and in relation to all other components. Therefore, the sociologist who pretends to be aware only of his own field in housing, labor relations, population distribution, or any other aspect of the subject, no matter how acute and scholarly he may be, is apt to be a menace rather than a help in a practical situation. Conversely, when any great social project is carried through without clear recognition and provision for the sociological components, as so often has been the case, the results in human waste may be very considerable.

If in every great undertaking the sociological components should be clearly recognized and subjected to the same analyses, planning, treatment, and coordination with other factors, as are the engineering and financial components, then in the aggregate our economic and political activities would result to a much greater degree in the fulfillment of normal human aspirations, and there would be far less occasion in the aggregate for practice in the field of what we might call abnormal sociology, that is, for the treatment of poverty, delinquency, and disease.

The public of America quite generally has the impression that the Tennessee Valley Authority was given a charter with far-reaching powers to plan and to work out the social and economic reconstruction of a great region. That is far from being the case. The TVA Act provides no such charter, and if it had done so, the sharp constitutional divisions between State and Federal functions might largely have nullified such provision. In two brief sections of the TVA Act, the power is conferred to make studies, experiments, and demonstrations in the direction of social and economic planning. Beyond that the powers and duties of the Authority are quite definitely prescribed. They include bringing about the unified control of the Tennessee River System for navigation, flood control, and power. The Act provides for the development of river terminals and for the disposition of surplus electric power. It also provides for the use of the war-time nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals for the development of fertilizer and for the experimental distribution of that fertilizer. It also provides for the prevention of soil erosion through the use of fertilizer.

Except for provisions for studies, demonstrations, and experiments above referred to, the sociological aspects of the TVA do not come from any broad

charter to do sociological work. They arise rather out of the fact that in any important undertaking sociological components are as real and important and as deserving of analysis and treatment as are the engineering or financial or legal components, all of which should be treated so as to result in an integrated program, from which no important elements are omitted. If the TVA seems to have more sociological implications than certain other large development projects, it is only because we have endeavored to recognize their existence and to make orderly provision for their proper consideration.

A discussion of sociology in the TVA, therefore, resolves itself into a discussion of the provisions which are made for analysis and treatment of those factors of the undertaking which are sociological in their nature. If there is anything unique or novel in the TVA from a sociological standpoint, it is not so much in the nature of the problem as in the explicit recognition of the existence of the sociological components, and in the effort to treat them as equally important with the other more generally recognized components, such as geology, engineering, finance, and land titles.

In the organization of the TVA and the building of its personnel, it was assumed that there are in the United States many men and women who would like to be engaged in public service if that service should recognize merit and loyalty in the public interest and should be free from political considerations. In accordance with the terms of the Act, therefore, and with the hearty support of the President, the TVA staff was assembled solely on the basis of merit and with the elimination of political patronage, yet with freedom from the routine of the civil service rules. That policy, I believe, has been justified by its results.

In the building of labor forces on both public and private undertakings, it has been usual to let the need for labor be known, and then, with some reasonable degree of selection, to accept for employment such laborers as may apply. The Tennessee Valley Authority took another course. A series of examinations was given to common and skilled laborers over the TVA area. More than a hundred thousand applicants took these examinations, and even the holding of an examination was itself somewhat selective, in that unqualified persons tended to avoid it. With these lists as the basis, personnel interviewers and examiners made further careful study of the individual cases, and on the basis of the total record skilled and unskilled labor was employed. This somewhat unusual process of labor recruiting has been well justified by the results.

About twenty years ago, on a large project with somewhat similar construction features, of which I had charge, it developed that about thirty different labor unions claimed jurisdiction. In cooperation with the officials of these unions I worked out a unified labor policy with identical rules and conditions for all crafts and for unskilled labor, including the elimination

of jurisdictional lines. That effort was largely successful. When the TVA construction work was begun, we undertook to apply the same principle on a larger scale, and with more detailed and adequate provisions. After two years of effort and tentative application, the TVA labor policy was formally adopted. It provides for collective bargaining without closed shop provisions, and sets up regular methods for dealing with the many types of problems in labor relations that arise on large construction work. There has been an effort to administer this as a mutual endeavor to achieve low costs and high quality, together with good wages and desirable working conditions, rather than as an antagonistic contest between labor and management. In any such undertaking the temper of the particular job is affected and modified by past experience and by the prevailing labor relations of the region. Neither workmen nor supervisors come to a new job as blank tablets on which can be written any desired policy. Their attitudes and tempers are stamped into the very fiber of their being by past struggles and experiences. Efforts to modify old and fixed attitudes, and the common tendency to tension between labor and management, absorb much of the energy used in administering a labor policy. In such efforts good intent alone is not sufficient. A background of experience and judgment and a recognition of realities, as well as abstract principles, is vitally necessary. On the whole, I believe that the formulation and administration of the TVA labor policy is one of the significant forward steps in the administration of labor relations in America during recent years.

The housing of working forces on temporary jobs has always been a serious problem. To the man who moves from one construction job to another, the environment of the construction job is the environment of life for himself and his family. On the other hand, the cost of building suitable living quarters, which can be occupied for only three or four years and then must be abandoned, creates an acute issue between economy and quality. The TVA has been exploring in this field. In its first construction job, at the Norris Dam, a housing development was effected which constitutes a permanent community of substantial brick and frame buildings with almost every convenience which a working man could expect. Such construction is not justified except by the prospect of permanent use. At other dam sites permanent use cannot be equally anticipated, and the TVA has experimented with other degrees of completeness. The most recent of several such housing projects to be constructed is at the Guntersville Dam. It represents a high degree of satisfactory housing with modern conveniences, but at a substantially lower cost. Along with housing for families, there has been carried through a program of housing unmarried men in dormitories with provisions for recreation, for library facilities, and for other social activities in community buildings and otherwise.

The educational program of the TVA is significant. Not only is schooling

provided for the children of workmen, but a broad program of adult education has been instituted. Training for skilled craftsmanship in various callings and for semi-professional work is in great demand, and a substantial proportion of all workmen at the large construction jobs are sharing such educational opportunities. In addition, there are opportunities for general cultural education. Vocational training, such as in handicrafts, is very popular. Social life is encouraged through such activities as garden clubs, Parent-Teachers' Association, sportsmen's clubs, the TVA Labor Council, dramatic clubs, and other organizations. By such methods as these the social life of transient labor is made to have many of the characteristics of the life in a stable American community of high quality.

In addition to the regular construction jobs where men are located in the same positions for extended periods, the TVA has under way a large amount of still more transient work, such as clearing timber from the reservoirs. Most employees for such work are recruited from nearby farms and villages. Educational opportunity in such cases is less highly developed. In some localities meetings are held in the school houses in surrounding towns for one or two evenings a week. After an hour of recreation, the workmen and their families settle down for perhaps two hours of study. The subject may include mechanics' arithmetic, principles of forestry, the care of automobiles, first aid, personal and social hygiene, and a variety of other subjects as desired. Traveling libraries are provided, and the reading habit has been greatly developed.

One other educational phase of the TVA program is worthy of note. As a result of building dams and forming reservoirs, a large number of people must be moved from their homes. In some cases classes are organized among the farmers who will be dispossessed, and in the year or two preliminary to their moving, courses in agriculture are given, and the whole problem of relocation is carefully studied. A relocation service makes a study of the conditions of each particular person who must be moved, as to his financial resources, the size of his family, the necessity for school provisions, his religious associations, which may influence the community he would like to join, the type of farming for which he is best fitted, and other factors which would affect the relocation. The relocation service also examines a large number of farms which may be purchased, appraises the value of such tracts, and helps persons who must relocate to do so to the best possible advantage. This practice is in striking contrast to that which has existed on both public and private projects, of buying a man's land and turning him adrift. It is an interesting illustration of the habit of recognizing the sociological component in an economic enterprise.

The TVA power program also has its sociological implications. Electric power is not just another product on the market. Primitive societies rest on the supplying of certain basic needs, such as food, shelter, and clothing.

There are other needs almost as fundamental, the fulfillment of which on any universal and ample scale has been denied to men during the entire course of their history. Men have desired to go where they please, but until recent times have been limited to the sailing vessel and the horse. Their imaginations have run ahead to the magic carpet. Today the ocean liner, the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane are making their dream a reality. Men have desired to communicate with each other, but have been limited to such means as the runner carrying a message or to the direct carrying power of the human voice. Imagination has run ahead into telepathy. Today the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio are making that dream almost a realization.

Until very recently almost all the work of the world has been done by the muscles of men and of animals, and the burden of life has been largely due to the weariness of the flesh under such labor. Men dreamed of an Aladdin's lamp to conjure up slaves to do their bidding. Today for the first time in history we have a form of mechanical power which can be universally transported, and which is infinitely divisible. We may look ahead to the time when every person by pressing a button may have an unlimited supply of mechanical energy at his command. This, as I say, is not just another product on the market; it represents one of the most fundamental revolutions in human history. The craving of men for release from the drudgery of manual labor demands that the fulfillment of that hope shall not be unnecessarily delayed, neither shall it be encumbered by manipulation and exploitation for private profit. One of the incidental aims of the Tennessee Valley Authority is to help bring about the time when electric power shall be universally available, and at such low rates that it can be used for a multitude of purposes, and not simply for the luxury of lighting homes. To help bring this about by methods which are fair both to the public and the private industry is a problem of economics, of engineering, of political action, and of sociology.

The nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals have been turned into a laboratory and demonstration plant for the production of phosphate fertilizer, since it is phosphate and not commercial nitrate which is the most important limiting factor in soil fertility. Important work has been done in developing new and more economical forms of phosphate fertilizer. In making those developments useful to the public, however, we get into problems of sociology as well as of economics. Highly concentrated fertilizers are much more economical of transportation. The difference in freight costs between a fertilizer which is 15 per cent plant food and a fertilizer which is 65 per cent plant food is very great; yet farmers are in the habit of buying fertilizer in bulk and of judging its value by its weight. Here we have the sociological problem of developing in the agricultural population a new realization of economies and values. We also have the problem of

creating farmer groups who will buy highly concentrated products and through co-operatives make local preparation for use on the soil.

One of the great problems of the southeastern states is soil erosion. In the rolling hill lands of the Tennessee Valley Authority region perhaps half the surface soil fertility of all lands which have been long in cultivation has been washed away. Millions of acres have been depleted and abandoned in the southeastern states. The correction of that condition depends partly upon the expenditure of money for corrective activities, but very largely it depends upon changes of mental attitude on the part of the agricultural population and on changes in agricultural technique. In the Southern Highlands there is a great oversupply of agricultural population. Because of this pressure of population men are clearing and farming steep mountain hillsides where the soil washes away after three or four years' crops. With the rapidly increasing population there can be no relief of this situation in the field of agriculture alone. There must be a balancing of agriculture and industry, so that the surplus population will find an outlet for its energy without the continued destruction of these hillside lands. Here is a great complex of economics, agriculture, industry, and sociology which as yet has scarcely been touched. The TVA is making studies in this field, but has little legislative authorization to do effective work.

There are many other ways in which the TVA enters the domain of sociology; for instance, when a great reservoir is created, school districts and taxing districts are affected, and road systems are interfered with. The reorganization of the social life of these communities with the re-establishment of educational facilities, roads, communities of like religious outlook, et cetera, creates many problems. The TVA is endeavoring to recognize the sociological component in each such situation and to give it the same careful analysis and treatment that are given to engineering or financial factors.

Let me repeat that the sociological significance of the TVA up to the present time is not that we have been given any peculiar sociological duties to perform, but rather that in doing the regular work which has been handed to us by Congress, we have endeavored to recognize sociological factors as just as real and important and as demanding the same careful analysis and treatment as the other factors, such as geology, engineering, finance, and law, which are commonly recognized in such economic enterprises. While we have no charter for peculiarly sociological undertakings, yet any great project gives opportunity for recognition of the fact that achievement will be most significant and enduring when each of the important elements which enter into it is given the consideration which, in the nature of things, it requires. When the relation of each element to the others is clearly recognized, and when there is constant effort to bring about integration, synthesis, and proportion in dealing with them, there is the best prospect for a fully successful total outcome.

That sense of proportion is primary. For sociological considerations to be neglected where they are present is a public loss. On the other hand, for any profession to come to see the world as revolving about its own peculiar position is the source of much confusion and unnecessary striving for preferred position. Anyone in a responsible public position sees such unprofitable striving. Because applied sociologists so often work in public organizations they frequently meet this issue. A considerable endowment of balance, poise, and restraint is necessary in such situations, no less than faith in one's field and aggressive energy in giving it expression.

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENTS OF FRESHMEN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN*

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THE PROBLEM. The purpose of this paper is to present certain results both quantitative and qualitative on the deviation in scholastic performance from what had been predicted of a sample of freshman college students on the basis of their high school records and other measures of ability. During the past decade several indexes to predict scholastic success in college have been developed. The officials of the University of Wisconsin use one called the *Predicted Grade-Point Average* (Mean), hereafter called **P**. This is based upon a certain combination of the student's high school percentile rank in class and on his score on the American Council Psychological Test.¹ This index, **P**, serves as a prediction of the student's work in college in terms of his actual achievement as measured by his grade-point average.² Ordinarily **P** should correspond rather closely to the *Achieved Grade-Point Average* (Mean) hereafter called **A**. Actually it does not. The Pearsonian *r* between **P** and **A** for the first semester for the freshman men who entered the College of Letters and Science at Wisconsin in September 1935 is +.66. One might well expect a higher correlation than this since the students are only a few months removed from their secondary school situation. [We may reasonably believe that the same intellectual factors at least are operating to produce collegiate academic success as measured by grade points.] Therefore, assuming **P** to be an adequate predictive index of scholastic success in college, one tentative hypothesis to account for the actual *Discrepancy* between **P** and **A**, which we shall call **D**

* This paper is a tentative report of one section of a larger study, still in progress, which aims to analyze several quantitative indexes of potential scholastic and other adjustment difficulties of the college student from the point of view of certain so-called personality tests. The authors are indebted to the Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin for the financial assistance which made this study possible. Read at the Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 29, 1936.

¹ See John L. Bergstresser, *The Prediction of Academic Achievement For Men in the College of Letters and Science*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin Library, 1936. See also V. A. C. Henmon and F. O. Holt, *A Report on the Administration of Scholastic Aptitude Tests to 34,000 High School Seniors in Wisconsin in 1929 and 1930*, Bureau of Guidance and Records, University of Wisconsin, 1931. In the present investigation we have used the Mark Ingraham modification of the Henmon prediction formula.

² The grade-point system at Wisconsin gives the student three grade points per hour of credit for a grade of "A"; two for "B"; one for "C"; none for "D"—the lowest passing grade; -.5 for "E", or "Conditioned"; and -1.0 for "F" or "Failure." In order to graduate the student must earn a minimum of grade points equal to the number of "hours" of credit received.

is that so-called personality traits are involved other than those presumably accounted for in the prediction formula (including intelligence as measured by the tests). And in relation to these traits the adaptation of the freshmen to the novel situation of college life, both scholastic and extra-curricular, may be important. This adaptation to college life, in turn, may be related to factors in the home and family background, to high school experiences and to other pre-college situations.

As a means of securing certain data which we believed would enable us to check our assumption that personality factors (other than those included in the prediction formula) and various background and contemporary situations play important parts in determining the *Discrepancy, D*, between the *Predicted Grade-Point Average, P*, and the *Achieved Grade-Point Average, A*, two personality scales were given to the 750 freshman men who entered the College of Letters and Science at Wisconsin in September 1935. These were "The Adjustment Inventory" prepared by Hugh M. Bell, and "The Wisconsin Scale of Personality Traits" devised by Ross Stagner. The Bell "Inventory" has four subdivisions among its test items from which separate scores may be computed for the following: A, home adjustment; B, health adjustment; C, social adjustment; and D, emotional adjustment. A low score in each of these sections is supposed to reveal excellent or highly satisfactory adjustment. The Stagner "Scale" may likewise be scored for four sets of factors which the author has designated as W, X, Y, and Z. The author has indicated that a high score on W indicates "nervousness, worry, high emotionality, and a tendency to adopt defense mechanisms"; a high score on X reveals tendencies to excessive subjectivism, daydreaming and many traits commonly called introvertive; a high score on Y is alleged to show "high self-esteem and self-confidence"; a high score on Z is said to indicate aversion to social contact and a tendency to assume a submissive and perhaps seclusive rôle in society. Obviously low scores would show the reverse of these characteristics.

A random sample of one-third or 250 of the total 750 freshman men was selected for special study chiefly through methods of interviewing. This work was done by Mr. Drought, who was designated as Personnel Assistant to the Junior Dean. Under the guise of a friendly but "official" invitation from the Junior Dean's office, these students came in for a varied number of informal conferences. This one-third of our total we designate "Group A."³ With these general background factors noted, the balance of

³ The balance served as a control group, which we divided into two groups B and C, the former of whom were not subject to any further special study except through the data which we secured at the time of their entrance to college, including of course the personality tests. The latter were those students who, because of "difficulty" as to the quality of their scholastic work or as to certain extra-curricular activities were interviewed and advised by Dr. Bergstresser in his capacity as Assistant Dean. Our complete report will include these groups.

our paper will take up first the adequacy of our major sample, Group A; second, an examination of the adequacy of the Bell and Stagner personality tests in reference to the **D** between prediction and achievement in grade points; third, the analysis especially in terms of background and college situations of the 27 cases of Group A who fell at least .80 grade points below **P**, and the 11 cases of Group A that ran .80 grade points or better above **P**; and fourth, certain selected cases from these 38 students (who had either plus or minus .80 **D**) will be discussed in order to expose some of the difficulties of both the situational and personality-test analysis of scholastic difficulties. Finally, in the concluding section, some interpretative but tentative comments will be offered.

Results 1. Our first problem was to determine whether Group A was an adequate sample of the entire group of freshman men whom we tested. Our statistical analysis (data for which must be omitted) indicates that it is a satisfactory sample. In the measures of **P**, **A**, and **D**, Group A shows no significant differences from what is found for the total 750 freshman men. Likewise, in all four of the Bell tests and in the Bell total scores, and in the four sections of the Stagner scale there are no statistically significant differences between Group A and the total group.

2. In consideration of our major hypothesis that so-called personality traits may account in part for the **D** between prediction and achievement in grade points, we correlated the Bell and Stagner tests with **D**. The results are shown in Table I. Our anticipations that the Bell and Stagner tests would throw definite light on the performance of the student in his scholastic situation in college were not fulfilled. None of the subdivisions of these two tests shows any significant correlations with **D**.

TABLE I. SHOWING PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS BETWEEN D AND BELL A, B, C, D, AND BETWEEN D AND STAGNER W, X, Y, AND Z, FOR TOTAL GROUP

	<i>r</i>
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Bell A	plus .10
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Bell B	plus .04
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Bell C	plus .05
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Bell D	plus .01
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Stagner W	plus .04
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Stagner X	plus .08
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Stagner Y	minus .02
First Semester Grade Point Discrepancy and Stagner Z	plus .19

3. For special consideration we selected those cases from Group A whose **D**'s for the first semester were plus .80 or more and those whose **D**'s were minus .80 or more. There were 11 cases of the former and 27 of the latter. That this is a satisfactory sample of the total 750 students is shown by the fact that of the total group, 43 had **D**'s of plus .80 or more, and 79 had **D**'s of minus .80 or more. For Group A, it is interesting to

note that of the total 38 cases which fell plus or minus .80 or more, 29 percent of them were above the mean D and 71 percent were below. In other words, the number of those who fell so markedly below prediction was nearly three times as great as for those who exceeded the prediction by the same amount. For the total sample the number who fell below prediction by .80 D or more was nearly twice the number who exceeded the prediction by the same amount.

Assuming there might be some significant differences in the means of the Bell and Stagner scores when compiled for these extreme cases, plus or minus, and for those who did not diverge so markedly, we computed the means and probable errors of these three distributions for each of the four Bell and for each of the four Stagner tests. In other words our problem was to determine whether or not the means of the distributions of students having plus .80 D or more for the first semester, those whose D's lie between plus and minus .79 grade points inclusive, and those having minus .80 D or more, when classified according to the various Bell or Stagner scores showed any significant difference from each other. Our statistical analysis showed that there is no significant difference between any two pairs of means, for in no case did the difference between two means approach the necessary limits of statistical significance—i.e., four times the probable error of the difference between the means. So far as the Bell and Stagner tests go, those who diverged more than plus .79 and those who diverged more than minus .79 are not different in performance from their fellow students who did not digress so markedly from P. While the low correlations between the Bell and Stagner tests and D shown in Table I would hardly lead us to expect other than these results, there is here additional evidence of the inadequacy of the said personality tests to reveal statistically reliable results even for the extremely divergent cases.

4. Since these findings were so unsatisfactory, we next turned our attention to the data from the college records and from our interview notes with a view to seeing if an analysis of the situations at home, in high school, and in college might not reveal useful information as to possible clusters of situational factors that might account, in part at least, for some of the marked divergence from the predicted scholastic performance.

Two of the writers of this paper, Young and Drought, read each student's record independently of each other. They made notations on slips of paper of the situations or external events which seemed to bear upon the discrepancy in each case. They then consulted together on the major situations which should be considered in undertaking a more detailed analysis. It was agreed to organize these factors under two major rubrics: *Background Situations* and *Present Collegiate Situations*. The former, in turn, were divided into *Home* and *High School* factors, the latter into *Scholastic* and *Extra-curricular*. The writers agreed to keep situations or external

events in mind as much as possible and to note on closer and second reading of the records the more specific factors which would fall within one or the other of these four categories. No attention was paid at this time to subjective or internal personality factors such as attitudes or ideas. When this independent reading was completed a set of master sheets was made up with these four major situations, one for the 27 cases which were minus .80 or lower, and another for the 11 cases which were plus .80 or higher. Then a series of terms was used to describe these situations and each of them given a number.

The situations which were thought to be important in each case were recorded by number and on the basis of these data we attempted to discover any clusters or constellations of situations or of overt behavior made under the four major rubrics of each group which might throw light on our problem as to why some students drop miserably below their predicted performance while others exceed their prediction by equally striking amounts. In other words, are there any items or clusters of items which are found in the Minus Group that do not occur in the Plus Group or which show significant differences in frequency of occurrence? (Hereafter, for convenience, the 27 cases with a D of minus .80 or more shall be called the "Minus Group," and the 11 cases with a D of plus .80 or more shall be called the "Plus Group.")

Limitations of space and more especially the tentative nature of our method and of our data preclude any exhaustive comparison of the results for the two contrasted groups. But certain divergences among the situational factors in the two samples will be presented with a view to indicating what a more careful and complete analysis might reveal.

From such a comparison, in turn, we might hope to classify or name the more *general* and *recurring*, that is, common factors which differentiate the Minus from the Plus Group. That is, do certain situations or items of overt behavior pile up or occur more frequently in one group than in the other?⁴

Our tentative classification of external situations and of overt conduct which related to the students' background and present collegiate life showed that there are apparently significant differences in the frequency and clustering of certain items. One of the most important facts is that good study habits seem to characterize the Plus Group in contrast to the Minus Group and that the latter reveal much more evidence of wasting time and of having poor study habits than the former. Only one student of the 27 in the Minus Group was noted as having sound study habits, and he was an older chap who was doing an excessive amount of outside work

⁴ When our study is completed we hope also to be able to compare the Plus and Minus samples with the Middle Group—those students whose D's fall within plus or minus .79 grade points inclusive. This comparison we are not yet prepared to submit.

to earn his way through college. Then, too, the Plus Group appears to indulge in much less excessive "society" life, such as dating, horseplay, holding "bull sessions," and extravagant spending of time and money in leisure-time pursuits. It is evident that these are not only matters of common observation but frequently symptoms of more fundamental difficulties in the personality. (See below on personality factors.)

It is worth noting also that more than twice as many of the Plus Group were gainfully employed between the time of their high school graduation and their entrance into college than was true of the Minus sample. This apparently signifies increased experience in managing one's own affairs, clearer definition of purpose, and a keener sense of responsibility. The students' living quarters may well be a factor in differentiation of one group from another, for nearly three times as many students of the Minus as of the Plus group lived in rooming houses. The proportion of the students in the two groups who lived in the University dormitories was approximately just the reverse of this. [Since this paper was written we have analyzed by the Westergaard method of expected cases a larger sample of 182 students from Group A—those cases for which we had the requisite data—to check our tentative conclusion as to the effect of students' living quarters on scholastic performance; but that conclusion was not confirmed.]

Another factor evidently of importance in distinguishing the two groups is the definiteness and nature of the vocational aim of the student at the time of his entrance into college. Seventy-three percent of the Plus Group reported definite vocational plans in contrast to but 44 percent of the Minus Group. Furthermore, an additional 22 percent of the Minus Group reported a definite vocational aim which had been more or less predetermined by parental wish or domination, while but 18 percent of the Plus Group had been markedly influenced by their parents in regard to vocational choice. One third of the Minus sample stated that they had no definite vocational aim, while only nine percent of the other group lacked plans of this sort.

Another marked difference between the two samples is found in the relative proportion of those who change their minds about what degree they should work toward in college. Thirty-seven percent of the Minus Group shifted from one degree course to another in contrast to nine percent of the other.

Percentile ranking in high school seems to have some significance. Forty-four percent of the Minus Group had a high percentile ranking (upper third) in contrast to 63 percent for the Plus Group.

On the other hand, both groups show about the same percentage of members who were partially or wholly self-supporting, though only the Minus sample showed any cases (three in number) which were labeled "excessive outside work," which we believe influenced definitely the degree

of scholastic success of these young men. A few more of the Minus Group pledged fraternities in the first semester than did the Plus Group, but the difference is not significant.

Factors such as attendance in small or large high schools were apparently of no importance in differentiating the samples, nor did percentile rank in the high school graduating class, in terms of small or large high schools for either group, make any significant correlation with D.

5. Following our analysis of the results of the situational approach, it becomes obvious that we must go below the level of overt behavior for an adequate explanation of the performance of many of these students. By way of illustration, a few cases have been selected from our group of thirty-eight. Only a brief synopsis of each can be presented here.

Case 1 came to the University from a small town high school where he had made a promising record and had proved himself popular with teachers and friends alike. He stood in the upper third of his class scholastically and in the upper quartile of the American Council Psychological Test. His predicted grade-point average, P, was 1.48. He reported on his application blank at the time of admission that he had no specific vocational aim. His A at the end of the first semester was only .47 grade points and he was placed on final probation at the opening of the second semester.

His family was in fair financial circumstances although the father died before the boy completed his secondary school preparation.

At college he roomed with three boys from his own community. He did not engage in any gainful employment and had little or no serious interest in his school work.

This student's marked failure during the opening months of his college life was without doubt directly related to the conflict with his mother and sister. Since the death of his father, the mother and an older sister had tended to exert a meddlesome interference in the boy's affairs. As a symbol of his antagonism to their regularly repeated contention that he "could do better work if he would only try," he determined to "flunk out" of school just to spite them. He used his time in horseplay with his room-mates and other boys; he also spent a good deal of time and money "dating" girls. His antagonism to his mother and especially toward his sister appeared to be a reaction to the thwarted desire to assume the place of the father. Since he was the oldest male in the family after the death of his father, he followed the traditional mores in attempting to take over the role of the dominant "man of the house" only to be blocked by the older sister who wished herself to assume the control of the family.

The insight into the situation and into his own mental mechanisms gained from the interviews and the boy's growing realization that he had scholastic possibilities led to a rather sharp reversal of behavior. In the second semester he made a grade point average of 2.00.

Case 2 also came from a small town high school. Though he was well-liked, his school record was distinctly mediocre. His predicted average was but .64 and he was admitted to the University on probation. He had no specific vocational aim and was entirely disinterested in college work. He did not engage in any gainful employment while in school. He commuted daily from his home town a distance of 25 miles from the University. His scholastic record was so poor that at the end of the first semester his grade-point average was -.50. He withdrew from college.

This student comes from a background of severe parental control and attempted

restriction with consequent conflict at home. His father is, and has been for 26 years, the principal of the high school. He feels that it is his responsibility to see that his children are models of piety and good conduct. This boy has recently borne the brunt of this attitude because an older brother has taken to heavy drinking and other disorganizing personal habits following a break-up with his girl. The parents feared that their younger son would fall a victim to similar vicious habits and hence have tried doubly hard to regulate his conduct by admonition, expression of fear of evil consequences, and even refusal of the use of the family automobile for the purpose of visiting his girl who lives several miles distant. Often the boy hitch-hikes or walks to see his girl. The parents more or less forced their son to attend college, though obviously he had no interest whatsoever in so doing. He preferred to get a job so that he might marry.

In the university he wasted his time "horsing around" (as he put it) with other students during the day and spent much time with his girl in the evenings. He had determined to fail so that he would not be forced by his parents to continue in college.

Case 12 comes from a large high school where he made only a fair scholastic record. He stood slightly below the median in his high school percentile ranking, and his **P** was 1.03. He failed miserably in his first year in college; at the end of the first semester he had a grade-point average of -.40. At the end of the second semester he had earned no grade points but had squeezed by with an average grade of "**D**."

At college he lived in a rooming house but was pledged to a well-known fraternity shortly after entering. He was not gainfully employed while in school. He reported that his vocational aim was to enter his father's business where a place would be open for him in one of the firm's South American branches. This student came from a home in which he had no responsibility. His mother and father have always pampered him with attention and plenty of money.

At the University he occupied most of his time in recreational activities with his fraternity fellows and in "dating" girls. He was known as a "hail-fellow-well-met" and spent much time, effort, and money to maintain this reputation (role). The father has complicated various attempts to get this boy to understand the situation by supporting his son's indifference to his class work in certain instances. Thus when the student failed to pass his freshman mathematics, the father wrote an indignant letter to the Junior Dean about the inadequate teaching in this course, not knowing that the particular instructor involved was well-known for her classroom success. One sentence from this letter is indicative of his attitude: "It may be an unfortunate prejudice on my part, but I feel that no woman is capable of college teaching, especially in mathematics."

Case 16 lived in a small town where he attended high school, making a good record. He was popular with teachers and friends, and stood in the upper third of his graduating class scholastically and had like status on the American Council Test. His predicted grade-point average was 1.46. But at the end of the first semester he got only .10 average grade points. His vocational aim was to become a teacher of English in high school.

The boy's family was once in good financial circumstances, but during the depression the father had been reduced to taking a job as a janitor. The mother apparently had "social" aspirations which were damaged by the necessity of her husband's taking up such a menial occupation. She had instilled into her son's mind the idea and attitude that anyone who worked his way through high school or college was inferior. But in order to go to college at all the boy had to work for his board and room in a private household.

This fact produced in him a marked sense of difference and inferiority. He worried about his social status and avoided the usual social activities. He was so shy and so ashamed that he could not even recite in class. It was some time before he gained a rational view of his situation but he did come to recognize that at this university it was no social disgrace to work for self-support. It also took him a few months to realize that more effort was required to excel in college than had been true in high school. But during the second semester this young man struck his stride and made such improvement that he averaged 1.21 grade points.

Case 23 attended a large high school, where he stood just above the lower one-third of his graduating class, although he had about median ranking in the American Council Test. He had no specific vocational aim. His grade-point average in the first semester was -.19; in the second, he raised this to .57.

The parents of this boy are divorced and he lives with his mother. He has been the subject of much unpleasant controversy between his parents and he has been transferred by court order from one parent to the other on several occasions. At intervals he has witnessed all-night quarrels between his parents over his custody. This situation has resulted in feelings of insecurity and loss of confidence as well as in marked nervousness. He prefers his mother and she in turn is making a great sacrifice to help him through school.

Case 101 came to the university from a small high school. He stood in the lower one-fifth of his graduating class and in the lowest quartile in the American Council Test. He stated that he had a definite vocational aim. Although his predicted grade-point average was but .13, at the end of the first semester he had a 1.00 grade-point average.

He is reported to have changed markedly upon the death of his father which occurred at the time the boy graduated from high school. For the next three years he worked and saved his money in order to attend college. Apparently he matured rapidly and came to assume many of the family responsibilities formerly carried by his father. In spite of having been out of school he made every effort to improve the efficiency of his study habits, at first putting in long hours to compensate for poor technique. He lived in a dormitory but made few friends there. He hoped to marry a young woman from his own community as soon as she could make plans to set up in a business enterprise of her own in the university town. This would enable him to continue in school.

Case 102 attended a large high school in a prosperous suburb of a metropolitan city. His percentile ranking was 98 in his graduating class, and was 94 in the American Council Test. He had a grade-point prediction of 2.14. At the end of the first semester he had a grade-point average of 3.00, and he repeated this record the following semester. He reported that he was planning to become a college teacher.

While in college he shared an apartment with an older brother, but was pledged to a prominent fraternity soon after entrance. This boy who is intellectually so promising, who is socially well-poised, and who is emotionally well-balanced, comes from an excellent home and family background. After his graduation from high school his parents sent him to Europe for the summer so that he might learn the German language more efficiently. Although he has a defective shoulder which produces a somewhat peculiar posture, this does not handicap his social contacts whatsoever. During the first semester he studied very hard just to discover, so he said, how much he did have to work in order to get good grades. To him it was a sort of challenging game.

Case 110 had his early education and first years of his secondary schooling in the Far East where his father is employed by the Chinese government. However, he completed his last two years of preparatory work in a small American high school. He stood in the upper one-third of his graduating class and in the upper one-fifth in the American Council Test. He had a predicted grade-point average of 1.65, but attained an average of 2.53 at the end of the first semester. He reported that his vocational aim was to enter governmental service in the Orient similar to that of his father. At college he lived in the dormitory, but pledged a fraternity soon after he began school. This boy felt keenly that he was looked upon as queer and different because of his foreign background. He said that most American college students seemed uncouth and uncultured to him. This was probably a defense reaction against his feeling of difference. He was much more at home, he stated, with the International Club group than he was with his prospective fraternity brothers.

From these case studies it will be seen that the situational factors as such are not important apart from the inner state or attitude of the person experiencing that situation. For example, the death of the father is not always coupled with feelings of insecurity, and work for self-support while in school does not always exert a good or bad influence; divorce of the parents in itself does not always have an undesirable influence on behavior, nor does position in the family have any uniform effect. On the contrary, an individual may, on the death of his father, successfully orient himself if he feels capable of assuming the responsibility of taking over the father's role. Again he may, as in case 16, become maladjusted not because of the work for self-support in itself, but because he feels inferior over the fact that he has to work. Close supervision of behavior by the parents may have exactly the opposite from the desired effect if, as in case 2, the student takes an antagonistic attitude. Finally, in certain cases (here omitted) we find the student living in terms of the projection of thwarted parental ideals.⁵

Summary. Our findings may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. It is apparent that Group A, 250 cases, is an adequate statistical sample of the total number of freshman men whom we tested in 1935.
2. Our expectation that the Bell and Stagner personality tests would throw light on the factors which produce the discrepancy, D, between prediction, P, and achievement, A, was not fulfilled. The correlations of D with the four tests of Bell and the four tests of Stagner were uniformly so low as to be negligible.
3. When we segregated out for special study those cases which had plus .80 D or better, the "Plus Group," and those which had a minus .80 D or more, the "Minus Group," we found that none of the Bell or Stagner tests showed any statistically reliable differences for these distributions when

⁵ For a fuller discussion of projection of thwarted parental ambition upon children, see K. Young, "Parent-Child Relationships: Projection of Ambition," *The Family*, 8, 1927, 67-73.

compared to the balance of the cases, the "Middle Group" (that is, those which fell plus or minus .79 D inclusive).

4. The tentative classification of external situations and overt activities of our Plus and Minus samples which related to home and high school backgrounds and to present collegiate life showed that good study habits tend to characterize a high percentage of the Plus Group, while poor study habits (wasting time), and excessive "society life" are far more common to the Minus Group. Likewise, over one-third (37 percent) of the Minus Group changed their degree course in contrast to less than nine percent of the other group. Nearly twice as many of the Plus sample reported a definite vocational aim at time of college entrance as did the Minus Group. More than double the number of the Plus Group worked between high school graduation and entrance into college than was true of the other group. There is also a marked superiority of the Plus men over the others in the proportion which had a high percentile ranking in high school work.

In contrast such factors as size of high school attended, working outside school for money, and pledging a fraternity showed no significant effect on the D in the two samples.

5. A preliminary analysis of a selected sample of cases from our Plus and Minus Groups indicates that we dare not ignore the factors of inner or subjective life—that is, attitudes, traits, and meanings. This was shown in regard to such factors as the differential meaning of the death of the father, working for self-support, conflict, close parental supervision, and the projection of parental ambition on the child.

Interpretations. In conclusion we wish to offer a few comments regarding personality tests and respecting various points of view from which to study personality adjustment.

1. The personality tests which we used (and this is true of many others) seem inadequate for several reasons. First of all they are too frequently based on the assumption of separate traits within the individual. This view obviously reflects a particular "school of thought" in contemporary psychology. A view that personality is not a mere composite of separate traits or characteristics might lead to the development of other means of measurement in this field. Second, the devisers of tests frequently fail to take the situation outside the individual into account in making up their tests, or else they confuse the situation with the internal factors, such as attitudes and traits. Thus, the Bell inventory is divided in its construction into such items as home adjustment, social adaptation, and emotional stability. This seems an unnecessary and misleading set of distinctions because home adjustment properly conceived is a social adjustment. And adaptation to the home situation is linked up, as are other social situations,

with emotional stability or instability. In fact it is our contention that emotional traits, so-called, are socially conditioned and that to consider the emotions in their physiological or biological framework only, as is so frequently done, is to misunderstand completely their place and function in the personality.⁶

2. The situational analysis at first sight has much to recommend it. This is essentially the standpoint taken by the Thomases in their book, *The Child in America* (1928). They scout the idea that we can effectively approach the personality from the standpoint of instinctive or learned motivation, or from the internal (subjective) states and attitudes. It is their contention that these latter can only be inferred from a study of situations and of overt behavior. They write:

In the personality and psychiatric fields . . . the difficulty has been that most of the studies have been made from the point of view of the inner life outward, i.e., rather than studying behavior in a variety of situations as a means of inferring drives, instincts, emotions, etc., the instincts, emotions, etc., have been assumed to have a reality of their own and behavior has been studied in terms of them . . . The really fruitful studies have been those that have been based on widespread observation and objective recording of behavior in varying situations, and it is this type of study that leads to the possibility of the development of controls . . . Through studies of this sort we learn *how* people behave and from this we can then infer *why* people behave as they do.⁷

While we are in hearty accord with the need to make objective studies of behavior in terms of varying situations, we are not ready to follow the Thomases in their implication that it is only in such a manner that we can most adequately arrive at our hoped-for scientific formulations. Even our incomplete and highly tentative analysis of sample cases reveals the need to take cognizance of attitudes, symbolic meanings, and motivations as well as external situations and overt conduct. It is apparent to us that a description of situations and an analysis of overt activity alone will not give one the basis for satisfactory differentia of behavior. A divorce of his parents does not necessarily mean a disintegrated personality in the student, nor does a background of family conflict always lead to emotional instability. It is rather the manner in which the individual conceives or gives meaning to these events which is important. In other words, we take the position, at least tentatively, that the study of the situations and of overt conduct must be considered only one set of variables in our description and analysis, and that the other variables must be internal factors: motives, symbols, attitudes, traits—however we choose to define them for purposes of our work.

⁶ See a full discussion of this point in the forthcoming volume by Kimball Young, *Personality and Its Problems*.

⁷ W. I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America*, p. 570.

A CRITICISM OF FACTOR ANALYSIS AS A TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH*

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WHEN we discuss the value of any scientific method, we must ask what its purpose is. The method will be valid or invalid in proportion as it fulfills, or fails to fulfill, this purpose. Now, the purpose of any scientific method is excellently stated by Dr. Thurstone, who is perhaps our most distinguished authority on factor analysis, as follows:

"It is the faith of all science that an unlimited number of phenomena can be comprehended in terms of a limited number of concepts or ideal constructs. . . . The criterion by which a new ideal construct in science is accepted or rejected is the degree to which it facilitates the comprehension of a class of phenomena which can be thought of as examples of a single construct rather than as individualized events."¹

Notice that this statement implies two things: (1) that the construct must be simpler than the phenomena; and (2) that the construct must represent the phenomena with reasonable accuracy, that is to say, it must not lead us astray. These two requirements are implied in Dr. Thurstone's remark that the construct "must facilitate the comprehension" of the phenomena which are studied. In the present paper we propose to discuss only the second of these two criteria in the case of factor analysis. Can this technique yield a reasonably accurate and helpful representation of some at least of the complex social phenomena of our modern world?

From the raw social data themselves to the construct which factor analysis yields, there are several distinct steps. Let us discuss these.

A. *The data themselves.* The data which the sociologist studies include the social behavior of human beings. Since these are far too complicated to be comprehended by the human mind without some effort at simplification, we proceed to the second step. At this point, we must make a decision of vast importance to the sociologist, namely, in what should this simplification consist? On this decision depends the question as to whether our science shall be quantitative, descriptive, or philosophical. If we choose the first alternative, we come to the next stage.

* Summary of a paper read by the senior author before a joint session of the American Statistical Association and the Section of Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society, New York City, December 28, 1935. The original paper was a criticism of papers read by Dr. Cottrell and Dr. Stephan. The present summary concerns the former of these two papers.

¹ L. L. Thurstone; *The Vectors of Mind; Multiple-Factor Analysis for the Isolation of Primary Traits*, University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 44-45.

B. *The quantitative measurements.* This step consists essentially in choosing a point on a 1-dimensional continuum to represent a certain combination of behavior. It depends upon the postulate that (certain aspects of) behavior may be represented by a 1-dimensional continuum. This postulate, of course, is one whose validity is by no means evident.

C. *Correlation.* We may apply the above process repeatedly. Let us suppose, to make the matter more definite, that we have ten such numerical data on each of one thousand individuals. This gives us ten thousand different numbers with which to deal, and in spite of the simplification introduced under A above, the mass of data has become very unwieldy. We therefore attempt to simplify matters by calculating all the 45 possible intercorrelations between these ten variables. Since even this simplification may leave us unsatisfied especially if the number of variables is large, we proceed to the final step.

D. *Factors.* By applying the method of factor analysis, we reduce the ten variables, with their intercorrelations, still more. We may get, for example, four factors with their intercorrelations and these four factors are considered a satisfactory substitute for the original ten variables.

Our process of simplification has involved the formation of three constructs. We began with an indefinitely large number of distinguishably separate acts of social behavior. We approximated this by a construct which consists of a number of quantitative measurements, say, in the ten thousand scores of one thousand individuals on ten measurements. Then we approximated this by a further construct, the forty-five intercorrelations of these tests. Finally, we approximate this again by a last construct which consists of the four factors with their intercorrelations. This latter, then, is a construct of a construct of a construct. How well does it represent the original data?

In answer to this question, let us first consider the transition from A to B, that is to say, from the data themselves to the quantitative scores. Is this a valid transition? Do the numerical data give a reasonably accurate picture of the facts? If they do, then there are such things as fairly constant traits in behavior.

It is unfortunate for the proponents of the theory we are discussing that the whole trend of modern psychology has been against the existence of such constant traits. For example, the Character Education Inquiry of Hartshorne and May showed quite clearly that there was no such trait as honesty. Perhaps there are such traits as honesty-in-the-school-room, or honesty-on-the-playground. Or perhaps, these sub-trait must be broken up into still more elementary components—a process which may continue indefinitely, for all we know. Modern research has tended to show that there is not enough constancy in human behavior to make description profitable in terms of the "traits." The mass of evidence in favor of this viewpoint accumulates constantly.

Dr. Thurstone has some conception of this difficulty, and he answers it in the following fashion:

"The attitudes of people on a controversial social issue have been appraised by allocating each person to a point in a linear continuum as regards his favorable or unfavorable affect toward the psychological object. Some social scientists have objected because two individuals may have the same attitude score toward, say, pacifism, and yet be totally different in their backgrounds and in the causes of their similar social views. If such critics were consistent, they would object also to the statement that two men have identical incomes, for one of them earns when the other steals. They should also object to the statement that two men are of the same height. The comparison should be held invalid because one of the men is fat and the other thin."²

It is extraordinary that Dr. Thurstone should have so failed to understand the real weakness of his position. No one objects because *causes as such* vary, but because the variable itself changes according to circumstances. For example, the variable *pacifism* in a given individual may show widely different intensities according as the stimulus is actual or possible war, between this or that pair of nations. An individual's pacifism may be intense today, and non-existent a month from now. An individual may be militaristic while attending a mass meeting conducted by the American Legion, and pacifistic in church the next Sunday. He may be a pacifist when he is sober, and a roaring militarist when he is drunk, or *vice versa*.

From this, it appears how badly Dr. Thurstone's parallel misses the point. Height is a perfectly definite thing. Except in growing children it does not widely vary from month to month. It is independent of such changing circumstances as health, emotional state, and the like. But this precisely is not true of pacifism nor of a great many other variables which interest sociologists.

Enthusiasts for the factor theory seem to feel that there is some particular advantage in discussing these facts in terms of vectors. Very well, let us adopt this phraseology! Let us consider an n -dimensional continuum in which n orthogonal axes will represent the quantitative intensity of the trait, say pacifism, in different circumstances. There will be a very large number of these axes. We may imagine a point whose coördinates are the individual's score on each axis. A vector drawn from the origin to this point would represent the "true" score of the individual. When Dr. Thurstone constructs a pacifism scale, he draws a line through the origin in an undetermined direction and considers the projection of the individual's pacifism-vector on this line as his pacifism score. He is attempting the essentially difficult task of expressing in a 1-dimensional continuum the position of a point in hyperspace.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

At this point, we must make a remark which seems to us supremely important: This mathematical process is irreversible! That is to say, there is, in theory, a unique solution to the problem of projecting the pacifism-vector on the pacifism-test line, but unfortunately, we are interested in the converse problem. We are interested not in describing a test by an individual's behavior, but in describing an individual's behavior by a test. Our problem is not: Given the vector, find the point on the test line. It is: Given the point on the test line, find the vector. This problem is insoluble unless we make further assumptions. The present writers cannot imagine any satisfactory assumptions for this purpose.

The second transition we have to discuss is from B to C, that is to say, from the numerical test data to the correlation. There is a perfectly definite interpretation for r when its absolute value is equal to unity. In any other case, a given value of r tells us very little about the facts, since it may represent an infinite number of possible bivariate distributions.

Again, let us discuss the vector interpretation of these facts. Consider an N -dimensional hyperspace in which N orthogonal co-ordinate axes will represent the N individuals. Each variable, that is to say, each test, will then be represented by a point whose N co-ordinates are the scores of N individuals. If we draw vectors from the origin to each of these points, then the cosines of the angles between the vectors thus determined are proportional to the possible intercorrelations. In the transition from B to C, we set aside most of the N -dimensional hyperspace and confine our attention to a subspace having not more dimensions than there are tests. In the hypothetical example we have been considering, in which one thousand boys took ten tests, we take from a 1000-dimensional hyperspace a subspace of not more than ten dimensions.

Precisely at this point, we again encounter the enormous difficulty of irreversibility. We cannot describe a 1000-dimensional hyperspace in terms of ten dimensions. The problem has a unique solution when we proceed from one thousand dimensions to ten. That is to say, given the ten thousand scores of the thousand boys on the ten tests, we can uniquely determine the correlations; but given the correlations, we cannot uniquely determine the scores. Unfortunately, our whole interest as social psychologists lies in this latter problem. We are not interested in describing scores in terms of individuals, but rather of describing individuals in terms of scores. This problem is, in general, insoluble unless we make further assumptions. We restrict ourselves somewhat if we assume the truth of the normal law. The assumption of the normal law will not give us back the exact orientation of the ten vectors in the enveloping 1000-space, but will, in a certain sense, locate them within a wide region in that space. We have merely discarded a few infinities of freedom, if it is any consolation!

Finally, we come to the problem which interests the factor analysts but

which seems to us comparatively unimportant beside the problems just mentioned. It consists essentially in the effort to eliminate a few of the remaining spaces. This process has the advantage of gaining some simplicity and the disadvantage of losing some definiteness; but it marks only the last stage, and a comparatively unimportant stage, of a long progress.

Let us recapitulate this progress. We begin, to take a concrete example, with the enormously large number of social acts within a certain field performed by one thousand individuals. We may represent this by a hyperspace which has, perhaps, some billions of dimensions. At a great sacrifice of accuracy, we consider a small fragment of this space having only one thousand dimensions. Herein we locate ten points which specify ten vectors. The angles between these in turn specify the forty-five possible inter-correlations. Finally, we consider merely a part of this hyperspace, a four-dimensional space, whose axes will be the factors.

Thus, we have passed, say, from a 1,000,000,000-space to a 1,000-space to a 10-space to a 4-space. How well does this 4-space represent the 1,000,000,000 space? The answer to this question is precisely the answer to the question asked earlier in this paper, namely, how well does the construct which the factors imply represent the original data? Unless we make some assumption at least as rigid as the assumption of normality, and show that this assumption is objectively valid, then the answer is very simple. Our construct does not represent the original data in any intelligible sense. The problem is completely irreversible. Our factors are mere figments of the imagination, interesting to the mathematician, not interesting to the social scientist. That is all!

CRITICISM*

REGARDING the article by Professor Furfey which you sent to me, I should say:

1. In section B, the second sentence is definitely in error. The correct sentence would read, "It depends upon the postulate that *certain aspects* of behavior may be represented by a 1-dimensional continuum." In many cases, of course, such as speed of running or amount of crying, such a postulate is self-evident. Professor Furfey has somewhat obscured the issue here by implying that behavior in general must be represented on a 1-dimensional continuum.

2. I should also say that Professor Furfey misuses the word *data*. See section A. Data are, as I understand them, definite information which is

* This criticism is published anonymously as it was originally secured by the Editor as an aid in judging the value of the original paper. For this reason, Dr. Furfey's "Rejoinder," printed below, is addressed to the Editor.

already recorded in scientific protocols. In this sense the "Social behavior of human beings" is not data at all. This same error occurs on page 179, line 20. "We began with the indefinitely large number of distinguishably separate acts of social behavior." This is a rather nebulous goal in the distant future not a starting point. See the last sentence in the same paragraph for the same misconstruction. "How well does it represent the original data?" Again the word *data* is used with the implication that we already have the information and are distorting it, when the truth is that the information has never been collected.

3. In the discussion of the transition from step A to step B:
 - a. Of course, it may be true that we never find any constant traits. It seems to me that the general common sense predictability of human behavior makes this very likely. At any rate, it seems well worth while to attempt to find out whether such traits exist or not, rather than to state, on the basis of the present evidence, that we know there are none. Fursey also throws in the derogatory term "old-fashioned traits," which is quite irrelevant. We can well have new-fashioned traits.
 - b. Fursey's discussion, beginning at the middle of page 180, points primarily to variations in such a trait as pacifism from one time to another. If we have a pacifism scale there is no reason why this could not be measured. Fursey implies that this variability proves that pacifism is not a 1-dimensional variable, which of course has nothing to do with the case. The fact that a person's temperature and blood pressure may vary from hour to hour and day to day does not mean that we cannot measure temperature and blood pressure on a 1-dimensional scale.
4. The irreversibility which Fursey mentions in the paragraph page 180, beginning with "At this point," is, it seems to me, correct. He presents it as a defect of factor analysis and testing. It is rather a general defect of science in that in any experiment or any measurement one takes only a few aspects of the total organism or situation.
5. The rest of the paper in which he discusses the transition from B to C and C to D, seems to me simply to be clearly and directly erroneous. When one computes correlations, one does not throw away test scores. One keeps them and looks at them again when the occasion arises. Likewise, when one determines the factor axes in a space, the original axes are not thrown away. They may be used whenever you like. The central point which Fursey seems to have missed is that in factor analysis the dimensions that are thrown away are dimensions which measure test error or specific factors which may be investigated in a future battery. The correct state-

ment is not that we "eliminate a few of the remaining spaces" but that we "discover that a space which we had in ignorance regarded as 10-dimensional space is really only a 5-dimensional or a 4-dimensional space and that the points can be located just as accurately (with the exception of error and specific) in four as in ten. The reversibility that Fursey denies is right there. The original test scores are linear combinations of the factor axes. Knowing now that we have a space of fewer dimensions, we can go back, as Thurstone does, to the original data. Fursey's implication that you had a 1000-dimensional space of which 990 dimensions are thrown away leaving 10, and then 6 of these are thrown away leaving 4, is incorrect. The correct statement is that one never had the 100 or 10-dimensional space; one simply had a 4-dimensional space and did not know it.

6. Consider Fursey's recapitulation on page 182, line 9: "At a great sacrifice of accuracy, we consider a small fragment of this space having only 1000 dimensions." This is a very definite misrepresentation. How could any accuracy be sacrificed when we never knew and will not know for a good many years to come anything about the details of this "hyperspace" of some billions of dimensions. A few lines below this statement we find: "Finally, we consider merely a part of this hyperspace, a four-dimensional space." Here again is the implication that six of the ten dimensions are thrown away. No mention is made of the fact that the dimensions that are thrown away are error dimensions. In the following paragraph, the word *data* is again misused, carrying the implication that the problem of the social scientist is already solved and the only contribution which factor analysis makes is to throw away a lot of laboriously collected data. Here again the irreversibility is once more erroneously pointed out.

REJOINDER

PAUL HANLY FURSEY

WE FEEL, in general, that the judgment of your critic is fully justified when he is dealing with verbal adjustments; but his main criticisms are based on the unproved assumptions which we vigorously deny. We readily accept the verbal emendations suggested under points 1 and 2 of your critic's statement.

We cannot agree with his third point. We had stated that "the whole trend of modern psychology has been against the existence of such constant traits." We did not state categorically, as your critic asserts, that "we know there are none." If we had said that, it would have been an overstatement.

Your critic remarks that temperature and blood pressure vary from

hour to hour and yet they may be studied on a 1-dimensional continuum. This is true; but it does not meet our criticism. For the point at issue was, for one thing, that Thurstone treated as a constant a thing which does vary from hour to hour. If Thurstone would measure a "trait" like pacifism twenty-five or fifty times in a given individual and study the hour-to-hour variation of pacifism under varying circumstances, then your critic's analogy would have some force. But a Thurstone scale could not be applied to a given individual twenty-five times in a short space of time without losing whatever measuring value it may have had in the first place. Finally, may I remind you that the point at issue in this part of our paper was Thurstone's failure to distinguish between such a relatively constant trait as height and one like pacifism which varies constantly?

Your critic's fourth point deals with irreversibility. Please note that our demand for reversibility is only a restatement of the criterion proposed by Thurstone and quoted in the second paragraph of our article. From the observed phenomena the scientist derives a simplified construct which is called a *law*. The goodness of this law depends on its ability to represent the original phenomena. One must be able to proceed from the phenomena to the construct and then back again from the construct to the phenomena. In this sense, every useful scientific law must be reversible.

Of course the law, or construct, when it is reversed, does not give back the original phenomenon in all its natural complexity. But it should give back, with at least a fair approximation, the particular aspect of the original phenomenon which had been selected for study. In particular, when we study natural phenomena quantitatively, we want to derive a mathematical statement which shall give back the original quantitative data when such statement is reversed. In the physical sciences, no one has any interest in a law which cannot be reversed in this sense with approximately correct results. For example, from the observation of falling bodies the scientist derives a law which, when reversed, will give the original quantitative data. By this law I can calculate how many feet the body did fall through in three seconds.

It is a criticism of most statistical methods that they cannot be reversed in this sense. In other words a Pearsonian r , for example, if it differs from unity, tells me nothing about the original bivariate frequency surface from which it was derived—unless I make certain assumptions which are *merely* assumptions. Mr. Daly and I have called attention to this weakness of the correlation technique in previous publications.

Now what is true of such a relatively simple technique as correlation is enormously more true of such a complicated technique as factor analysis which depends directly on correlation. Factor analysis, therefore, has all the weakness of correlation plus a number of new difficulties of its own. All this sums up in the statement that factor-analysis is not a construct which

will give a useful picture of the original phenomena. It does not meet Thurstone's criterion quoted in our second paragraph.

I can find no common ground for discussing points 5 and 6 with your critic. For they consist essentially in a begging of the question. At the end of point 5 the critic says, "The correct statement is that one never had the 100 or 10-dimensional space, one simply had a 4-dimensional space and did not know it." This is merely a bold assumption of the whole point at issue. It is a very direct begging of the question. We demand that the factor-analysis school prove that very point. The present paper gives reasons for believing that they have not proved it, namely, the whole consideration of irreversibility. The burden of proof is on those who put forward a new method. It is no answer merely to assert that their method is correct.

The above will answer most of what is adduced under point six, but I would like to call attention to a misunderstanding on your critic's part. He says we can know nothing about a certain "hyperspace of some billions of dimensions." This hyperspace, in our manuscript, simply meant "the complexity of observed social phenomena," of which we certainly do know something. Your critic evidently failed to follow the part of our paper in which this was described.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND ECO- NOMIC STATUS IN CHICAGO*

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IN MAKING studies of the city, the question is frequently raised as to the level of education of the population. This is particularly true of those researches which attempt comparisons among the various sections of the city. Many new insights into the ecological patterns have resulted from the use of decennial population data in census tract cities. However, one of the factors about which little is known is the educational level reached by persons living in the different parts of the city.

Population data made available by the regular decennial enumerations give some information which has been employed as a measure of educational status. In the history of census taking questions on education have been asked since 1870. At first, the question on school attendance was tabulated in such a way as to reveal only the number of persons attending school with no differentiation as to age; illiteracy was defined as the inability to read and write English. Refinements of these two initial attempts to get at the educational status came with succeeding censuses.

The data on school attendance fail to give a satisfactory index of the educational levels in a community since they include only the population from 5 to 20 years of age; further, a person is counted as attending school if he attends only one day during the seven months preceding the enumeration. However, these data do provide a fairly satisfactory indication of the interest in education by giving the number and proportion of children who attend school beyond the compulsory age limit. The data may provide something more than a measure of interest in education; they may give a rough measure of the age at which children leave school to begin earning a living. The most important reason why mere school attendance is an inadequate index is that it fails to tell us how far these persons have progressed in school. No light is thrown on such questions as: the number who have completed the eighth grade; the number who have completed high school; or the number who have completed some college work.

Another approach to the educational level of a population is by means of the data on illiterates. Since illiterates, by census definition, can neither read nor write in any language, they may be considered as the lowest end

* Presented at a joint meeting of the American Statistical Association and the American Sociological Society in Chicago, December 29, 1936.

of the educational continuum and "may be assumed to comprise only those persons who have had no education whatever."¹ One of the principal shortcomings of this measure is the treatment of the literate population as a homogeneous class. The persons who can only read and write are placed in the same group with those who are high school and college graduates. When one considers that in 1930 only 3.8 percent of Chicago's population 18 years of age and over were illiterate, the weakness of this measure is fairly obvious. Using data obtained in the 1934 Chicago census, it was found that in tracts with the same low proportion of persons who never attended school the median grade completed in school varied from the sixth to the thirteenth. Thus a measure which uses the lowest end of the continuum tells us very little about educational levels.

The question on education in the 1934 Chicago census referred only to general education in public, private or parochial schools and colleges, and omitted any training which may have been secured in trade or vocational schools unless it was a part of the regular school curriculum. The last grade completed in school was tabulated by census tracts for the population 18 years of age and over. Thus there were available for the first time data which would give a basis for the comparison of various educational levels for the adult population in Chicago.

For the city as a whole the median grade completed was 8.1, with the median for males slightly lower than that for females. Four and seven tenths (4.7) percent had never had any formal schooling, while 11.5 percent had completed less than five grades. Twenty-six and five tenths (26.5) percent of the population had completed at least three years of high school, and 8.7 percent had completed at least one year of college. The median grade completed for each of the nativity or color groups was as follows: native whites of native parentage, 9.3; native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 8.4; negroes, 7.5; and foreign-born whites, 6.4. Of the 205,185 persons who had completed one or more years of college, 54.4 percent were native whites of native parentage. The foreign-born whites comprised 81.2 percent of those who had never attended school. One source of error which is recognized in the figures for the foreign-born whites arises from the fact that the grading system in Europe is quite different from that in the United States. It is impossible to tell how accurately the enumerators were able to make an equivalent for the grade completed.

One rather interesting finding from this initial part of the study was the difference between the grades completed by males and by females. In each nativity group except the foreign-born white, there was a greater proportion of males than females who had very little education (less than five grades) and also a greater proportion who had considerable education

¹ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Vol. II*, p. 1219.

TABLE I. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GRADES COMPLETED IN SCHOOL FOR THE POPULATION 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY SEX AND NATIVITY OR COLOR,
FOR CHICAGO, 1934*

Nativity and Sex	Grade Completed in School							
	None	1-4	5-8	9-10	11-12	13 & over	Unk.	Total
All Classes	4.7	6.8	49.1	12.0	17.8	8.7	.8	100.0
Males	4.6	7.2	49.4	11.3	16.3	10.1	1.1	100.0
Females	4.8	6.4	48.8	12.8	19.3	7.3	.6	100.0
Native Whites								
Native Percentage	.4	1.5	37.9	15.1	28.8	15.7	.6	100.0
Males	.5	1.7	39.4	14.3	25.8	17.5	.7	100.0
Females	.3	1.4	36.5	15.8	31.6	14.0	.4	100.0
Natives Whites								
Foreign or Mixed Parentage	1.1	3.0	53.2	15.3	18.8	7.9	.7	100.0
Males	1.2	3.1	52.7	14.4	17.9	9.8	.9	100.0
Females	1.1	3.0	53.6	16.1	19.6	6.0	.5	100.0
Foreign-born								
Whites	14.0	15.5	55.6	4.8	6.0	3.0	1.1	100.0
Males	12.7	15.7	55.1	4.9	6.3	4.2	1.2	100.0
Females	15.5	15.3	56.2	4.7	5.6	1.8	.9	100.0
Negroes	3.3	12.9	53.3	11.6	12.8	4.9	1.2	100.0
Males	3.4	13.8	54.3	10.3	11.0	5.3	1.9	100.0
Females	3.3	12.0	52.3	12.9	14.4	4.6	.5	100.0

* Percentages computed from totals compiled from data in Table 6, *Census Data of the City of Chicago, 1934*, University of Chicago Press.

(eleven grades or more). Several speculations were made to account for this difference. Chicago's native-born population has been made up of many migrants from the surrounding states and this educational difference between the sexes might be explained on the basis of the selective influence in migration. That is to say, the kinds of occupations which women can obtain in the city probably demand a higher educational level than those of men. Most of the clerical, stenographic and selling occupations into which women are likely to be attracted require more education than the unskilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities which are offered to men by Chicago's industries. Another hypothesis advanced was that males dropped out of school earlier to secure employment, and those who continued to attend, stayed in school beyond the level reached by females. Occupations in the professional field requiring college training are more accessible to men than to women.

Before proceeding to the analysis of its relation to other population characteristics, a statement should be made of the limitation of this index of

education status. To get a more adequate description of educational status it would be necessary to know the type of school in which this education was secured; a village or open-country school, a parochial school, or a modern public school. It would also be important to know something of the education received in part time schools, such as trade and evening schools and business colleges. While it does not satisfy these and other qualifications, the last grade completed in school does afford a unique index which can be used in a total array of indexes to understand the social characteristics of a population group.

A map of Chicago was constructed showing the distribution of educational status by census tracts. The highest educational status was found in the areas of high grade apartment dwellings along the north and south shore of Lake Michigan, in the apartment area on the far west side, and in the fine residential areas in the extreme northwest and southwest sectors of the city. The tracts with the lowest educational levels were contiguous to those parts of the city in which are located the heavy industries and the central business district. Comparing this map with one which showed the distribution of economic status by tracts there was an apparent association between these two indexes. Lowest educational status seemed to coincide with the lowest rental areas and, conversely, areas of high rentals were those with high educational status.

In the absence of a better measure the median equivalent monthly rental² of homes was used as the index of economic status. The variation of educational levels from tract to tract was found to be very closely associated with the variation in economic status; the coefficient of correlation between these two indexes was +.79. Such a high coefficient raised several questions which this study attempted to answer. Is this education index measuring the same thing that the economic index measures? Could one be used as a substitute for the other? Could the educational index be used as a supplement to the economic index when describing population groups? Thus one of the principal problems of the study was to discover the similarities or differences between these two measures.

The first method employed was a comparison of the intercorrelations of a series of eight population characteristics with rentals and then with education. All of the characteristics were available by tracts for the same census date.³ For each population characteristic, with the exception of home ownership, two measures were computed. As an index of the size of family, the proportion of small families as well as the proportion of large families was related to education and rentals; as an index of length of

² The "equivalent monthly rental" was computed by following the Census Bureau procedure of assuming that the rental is one percent of the value of an owned home. For example, the homes valued at \$3000 to \$4999 were combined with those renting at \$30 to \$49.

³ All the data in this study with the exception of that on school attendance and illiteracy were taken from *Census Data of the City of Chicago: 1934*, University of Chicago Press.

residence of families both the proportion with high mobility and the proportion with low mobility were used. Similarly, two measures were computed for each of the other five characteristics.

TABLE II. MEDIAN GRADE COMPLETED AND MEDIAN RENTAL CORRELATED WITH TWO MEASURES OF EACH OF EIGHT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

Population Characteristic	Coefficients of Correlation	
	Median Grade	Median Rental
Percent native whites, native parents	+ .7781	+ .6476
Percent foreign-born white	- .7211	- .6315
Percent males	- .7489	- .6132
Number of males per 100 females	- .7640	- .6295
Percent 45 years of age and over	+ .5890	+ .4186
Percent 18-34 years of age	+ .3906	+ .2578
Fertility rate, children under 5	- .6898	- .5635
Fertility rate, children under 10	- .7333	- .5936
Percent single	- .3534	- .4814
Percent married	+ .1662	+ .4132
Length of residence under 2 years	+ .5388	+ .3094
Length of residence 5 years and over	- .4747	- .2069
Percent 2-3 person families	+ .7139	+ .4748
Percent 5 and more person families	- .6465	- .4684
Percent homes owned	- .2784	+ .0705

To select one measure for each the following procedure was used: there was chosen from each set of two measures that one which differed most between education and rentals, and in case of the two differing about equally, there was chosen that one which correlated higher with both of them. The following population indexes were chosen:

- (1) Percentage of native whites of native parents; (2) Number of males per 100 females; (3) Percentage married; (4) Percentage of families with five or more persons; (5) Percentage of families with length of residence less than two years; (6) Percentage of persons 45 years old or over; (7) Ratio of children under 10 to women 20 to 44 years of age; (8) Percentage of homes owned.

The first step in the analysis was a comparison of the correlation of education and the eight selected indexes with the correlation of rentals and the same indexes. With the exception of the percentage married, each index showed a higher relationship to education than to rentals. Nativity, sex ratio, and fertility showed the smallest difference while mobility, marital

condition and large families showed the greatest difference. All of the differences were subjected to the test of the significant difference between two r's. Each of the eight pairs showed a difference which was significant from the standpoint of probability. Education and rental were directly related (a positive correlation) to indexes of nativity, marital condition, mobility, and age. They were inversely related (a negative correlation) to large families, fertility, and sex ratio. There was a small, direct relationship between rental and home ownership, and a small, inverse relationship between education and home ownership.

In this first step, by considering only the simple correlations with the series of population characteristics, we have neglected the influence of other factors. Thus when there was a correlation of $-.73$ between education and fertility, we neglected the factor of economic status in accounting for some of this variation. Similarly, in the correlation of $-.59$ between rentals and fertility, we ignored the influence of education. By using partial correlation it was possible to correlate education with rentals, holding constant or removing the influence of each of the population characteristics. Only three of these characteristics showed any appreciable difference on the size of the correlation coefficient. When native whites, sex ratio and fertility were each held constant, the coefficient of $+.79$ was reduced about 25 percent, or not lower than $+.61$.

The next step in the analysis was an attempt to compare the relative importance of educational status and economic status in their relation to the selected indexes. The method was essentially as follows: education was related to fertility while holding constant rentals, and then rentals were related to fertility while holding constant education. It was possible in this way to determine whether the correlation between education and fertility remained an important one when the influence of rentals was removed. This technique was applied to each of the eight population characteristics.

Holding education constant, the correlation between rentals and native whites, fertility, older persons and sex ratio practically disappeared. That is to say, when the influence of educational status was removed, there was almost no relationship between economic status and these four population measures. On the other hand, when education was correlated with these same measures and rentals held constant, there remained a fairly high relationship. The same was true when education was related to mobility and large families. It has been stated previously that neither education nor economic status had a high relationship to home ownership. But holding constant rental, the correlation of education and home ownership was fairly high and inverse; when education was held constant, the correlation between rental and home ownership increased from $+.07$ to $+.50$.

One of the interesting findings of this partial correlation analysis was

the complete reversal of some of the original relationships. In the simple relationship of education and rentals to these selected population indexes the correlations were all of the same direction; after the application of partial correlation four of the variables were oppositely related. For example, rental was inversely related and education directly related to mobility; rental was directly related and education inversely related to large families.

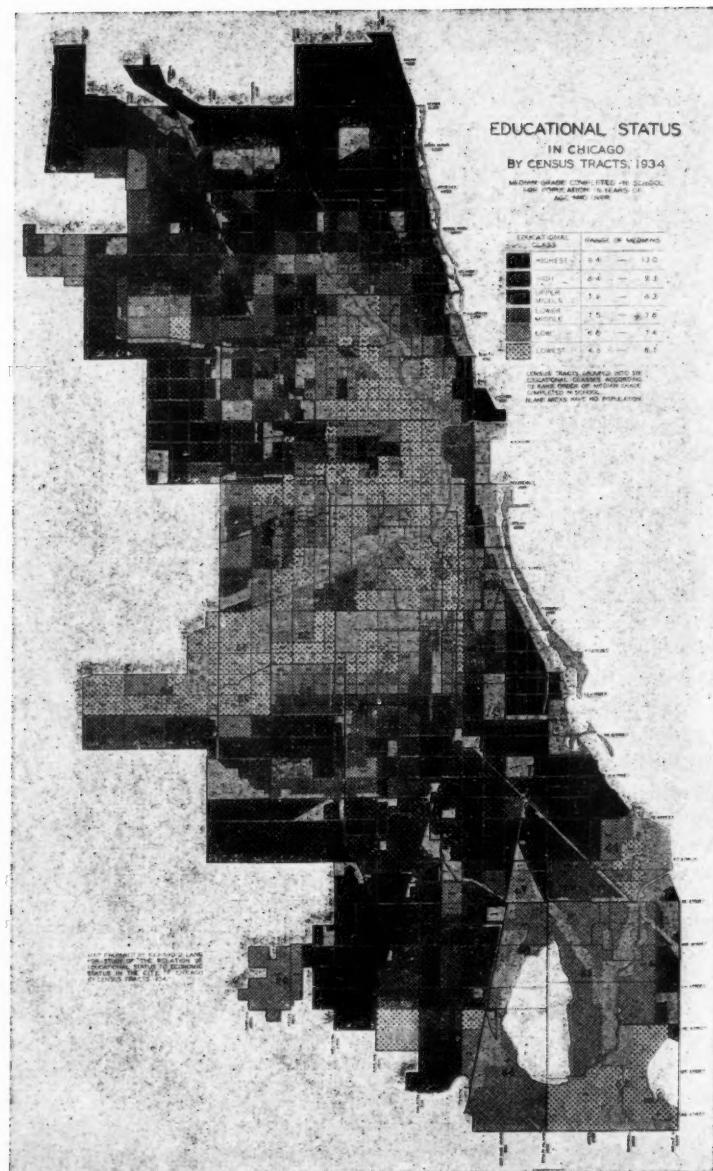
TABLE III. CORRELATION OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS WITH SELECTED POPULATION INDEXES HOLDING CONSTANT ECONOMIC STATUS, AND THE CORRELATION OF ECONOMIC STATUS WITH SELECTED POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS HOLDING CONSTANT EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Population Index	Correlation with Educational Status Holding Constant Economic Status		Correlation with Economic Status Holding Constant Educational Status	
	Original "r"	Partial "r"	Original "r"	Partial "r"
Percent native whites, native parents	+ .7781	+ .5697	+ .6476	+ .0771
Number of males per 100 females	- .7640	- .5593	- .6295	- .0574
Percent 45 years of age and over	+ .5890	+ .4649	+ .4186	- .1007
Fertility rate, children under 10	- .7333	- .5355	- .5936	- .0266
Percent married	+ .1662	- .2931	+ .4132	+ .4696
Length of residence under 2 years	+ .5388	+ .5074	+ .3094	- .2320
Percent 5 and more person families	- .7072	- .6246	- .4684	+ .2178
Percent homes owned	- .2784	- .5520	+ .0705	+ .5001

Summary. 1. Although the new index of educational levels is not the most complete one to be desired, it has been shown to have had distinct advantages over the previous measures of school attendance and illiteracy. The last grade completed in school seems to be more indicative of the educational level of a population group as it gives a more specific picture of the amount of formal schooling.

2. This measure of educational status could not be satisfactorily used as a substitute for economic status in view of the fact that it measures something more than the economic index. The correlation of education with most of the social characteristics remained fairly high after removing the influence of economic status, while this was not true when education was held constant and economic status was related to these same characteristics.

3. Compared to the present index of economic status (median rentals) the index of educational levels (median grade completed) seemed to represent a better single or inclusive index of the general complex of social characteristics of the population. Perhaps if our measure of economic status were a better one, monthly income for example, this index might describe quite as fully as education the population characteristics.



THE SPELL OF LIMITED POSSIBILITIES: A CONTRIBUTION TO AN ANALYSIS OF THE MECHANISM OF CULTURE

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IN A PREVIOUS article¹ changes in cultural equilibrium were discussed. It was found that human possibilities offer but a restricted combination of situations, which may recur at various epochs independent of the accumulative process.

Instances of these "limited possibilities" associated with human existence may be briefly reviewed. They are determined by biological conditions, by social life (which is derived from biological existence), and by human psychology (which, of course, must also be interpreted biologically in the last analysis).

A. *Biologically* (in the narrow sense) determined possibilities: 1. The length of human life and its stages of development by which the duration and the kind of a man's or woman's participation in the community is determined, the existence of a family, based on individual life, education and the succession of generations.

2. The interlocking association of mother and child with the protecting male is based on the particular qualities of the sexes. Derived endowment is responsible for the division of labor between the sexes in its fundamental outlines, although secondarily other factors (cultural patterns) intervene.

3. The physical strength, the abilities of the human arms and hands, the average speed of movements in walking and in manual abilities, the power of the human senses and the gift of thinking. There are personal differences, it is true, and through the ages some endowments may have increased while others deteriorated, but the limitations are undeniable. The accumulative process as well as the social adjustment depend particularly on these faculties.

4. The manner of handling instruments and constructing devices is determined by the few alternatives the human body offers. The European holds the needle's ear fast while he approaches the thread, the Chinese fashion is to put the needle's ear over the thread which is held fast. The European wheel-barrow is constructed to keep the load in the centre; the Chinese fashion of construction has the wheel in the centre and puts part of the load on each side. Passing through the Caroline Islands you may

¹ *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2, Feb., 1937, 26 *et seq.*

come upon one island where the men wear mats and the women skirts of leaves, and find the reverse to be true in the next. Women wear trousers in China and men skirts, in Europe you find the opposite. Such instances could be multiplied endlessly.² They are variations within a limited number of possibilities due to the biological conditions of man and to the limited possibilities in the application of certain material offers. They seldom can be classed as connected with the accumulative process, and the transition from one of these possibilities to the other cannot be called "progress," if no further implication intervenes.

B. *Socially determined possibilities:* 1. In each group either collectivity or individuality may be stressed. Generally they are both present but refer to different social components: a group may lean towards collective economics referring to possession of the soil, but be more individualistic in regard to the products of labor, or it may be collective in political affairs but otherwise cherish a high degree of personal independence; in like manner any other combination may prevail.

2. Interindividual and intergroup relations are primarily based on reciprocity. The latter assumes various forms: there can be (a) identical reciprocity, which may be (aa) instantaneous, as in exchanging girls for marriage accompanied with gifts of shell money of equal quantity and quality, or (bb) delayed, blood-revenge counting man for man, and compensation for compensation; and (b) reciprocity based on equal valuation, (aa) without a means of exchange, if a wife is given in return for a year of service by the bridegroom with his prospective father-in-law, or if tobacco is exchanged for a pig, or (bb) with the intermediate use of "money," when pots are bought for (shell-) money which may then be converted into pigs.³ "Dovetailing" can be regarded as a special variant of "reciprocity," and both be placed under "mutuality." Such an interlocking may be (a) biological, as has been mentioned, (aa) contemporaneous, in the relations between husband and wife, or (bb) delayed, in the relations between parents and children; (b) psychological, in the relations between master and pupil, leader and henchmen, administration and executive; and (c) between groups, (aa) on an equalitarian basis, villages aggregated from de-

² In comparing the Greeks with the Egyptians Herodotus alluded to opposed customs (but without referring to limited possibilities). He said that in Egypt the women attend the market while the men sit at home at the loom, that they work the woof down the warp, while the "rest of the world" (the Greeks) do the contrary. The women carry burdens on their shoulders in Egypt, while the men carry them on their heads. In Greece they act contrariwise. "In other countries" priests have long hair, in Egypt their heads are shaven. Sons need not support their parents unless they choose, but daughters must, whether they choose or not, while in Greece the opposite custom prevails. In Egypt they put on the rings and fasten the ropes to sails inside, others put them outside. When the Egyptians write or calculate, instead of proceeding like the Greeks, from left to right, they move their hand from right to left; and they insist, notwithstanding, that it is they who go to the right, and the Greeks who go to the left.

³ Cf. "Pigs and Currency in Buin," *Oceania*, Dec. 1934.

tachments of different clans, or (bb) stratified, (1) ethnically, herdsmen and agriculturists in certain parts of Uganda living in separate communities but under a common rule, and (2) socially, any stratified society living in various communities under a common rule ("state").

3. The status of women oscillates between comparatively few variants as indicated in connection with the biological derivations. The pendulum is, however, stirred to certain extremes by political conditions in which the men become prominent by securing subsistence or protection, or by slaying the adversaries and raping their women who afterwards must be content with an inferior position. The excellence of women in agriculture may under different circumstances lead to a privileged position and to premarital free love. Customs and attitudes, of course, may persist long after the original cause has disappeared.

4. There are always heirs to a man's position in his community, to the claim on an area from which to draw a livelihood, to distinction, wealth, or function according to the particular community's structure. So the past creeps in somehow.

5. The same means are employed for obtaining and maintaining power, under whatever disguises or pretexts, based on descent, wealth, or suggestion by words, organized or in the making, founded on direct coercion or indirect force (religious or capitalistic): there is always a leader (institutional or not) and a group of participating henchmen superimposed over a "believing" mass.

6. The same human uniformity prevails in economics in spite of the accumulating process which interferes vitally with the handling of a society's provisions. But there is always production, distribution and consumption.

7. The mode of settlement conduces to a number of other features of life: nomadism or urban life promote their special consequences.

C. *Psychologically determined possibilities:* 1. Emotions are not merely individual exhibitions. We should distinguish: (a) genuinely independent display of emotions, such as reflexes of pain; and (b) emotions deflected by the pattern of behavior, as are most of them, although displayed individually. Since a person lives in a certain social atmosphere with its patterns of behavior and its valuations, he cannot escape accommodating his emotions to the circumstances of that group. The group insists on a display of grief or joy and indeed suggests these emotions in such manner that the person is persuaded to exhibit them. The weeping of a bride upon being wed is a striking example. In Bulgaria she is carefully observed and her weeping scrutinized, whatever "real feelings" she may have. Often the bride, sometimes even the bridegroom, affects resistance according to the pattern, when about to be married. Our daily life is permeated with countless exhibitions of joy or sorrow merely to please others. But it would be wrong to

suppose that primitive life allows free action to individual impulses. Within the community the greatest care is exhibited to respect the other fellow's feelings. In dealing with strangers the danger of becoming involved in feuds or fights deters uncontrolled license. (c) Different are the collective emotions. They may be produced (aa) by stimuli of nature, such as drought, flood, rain, cold, heat, fires, or epidemic diseases of man or of animals on which man depends, or (bb) by stimuli of man, particularly by wars.

2. The number of emotions is limited: joy, anger, fear, wishing, hope, despair or depression, but they allow many degrees of intensity and combination and are socially contagious, particularly when fellow members of the community or group are equally exposed to a stimulus. The social consequences can be enormous: migrations, a splitting up of the community may occur in case of famine, or luxury and overbearing attitudes may sway the people who are lucky and successful. Emotions act to check causal and logical thinking.

3. Causality and logic are essentially the same among all mankind. The difference consists in the material of experience at disposition among a group of people,⁴ i.e., in the harvest they were able to gather from the accumulative process and in their ability to make use of it by their mental powers.

4. A number of psychological trends can be observed in all societies. They ensue from human reactions to certain situations or to a combination of them. They may be the more felt the less the accumulative process interferes with them. They may be classed as: (a) automatization, which is condensed into habits of the individual or customs of a group. Derived from it are: (aa) the tendency to perseverance of a custom or an institution which may have outlived its cultural system, such as all kinds of magic beliefs in modern society, "inveterate" institutions, and other "residues"; or (bb) the tendency to exaggeration, which implies the pushing of a theory, a program, an ideal to its extreme. While this is sometimes admired as the culminating point of such a movement, it contains at the same time a germ fatal to itself in the absence of sufficient attention to reality.

(b) Self-assertion of individuals and groups. The fundamental force is biological but it is displayed on psychological lines by direct and indirect means. In the social sphere it is connected with leadership and domination, with acquiescence and subordination, with opposition and rebellion. Derived from self-assertion are (aa) the tendency to expansion, colonization, imperialism, and conquest which can be found operating with more or less success throughout the course of history and among all races of mankind; or (bb) the tendency to inefficiency. In a way it is the counterpart of exaggeration. Frequently aims do not materialize because they are too

⁴ A more detailed explanation of this topic will be given in a forthcoming article about primitive thinking.

distant, too difficult to be attained, or because the powers of the individual or the group are not sufficient in face of the obstacles. The failure is veiled by excuses which may assume various features: persons or groups of them may be accused of having committed sabotage, or it may be pretended that the aims have been attained and the actual state of affairs is falsified in order to veil the situation. The simulation in which persons are considered as related who are merely friendly may also be cited here (e.g., the kinship appellation conferred upon strangers, or the distinction of "aristocracy" conferred upon officials or other persons of "merit").

5. Egocentricity is a special feature of human incompetence but is also connected with biological self-assertion. It may be expressed in narrowness of mind, in envy and in hate. It will always be manifested and is insuperable. Since we participate in a certain culture we are emotionally enmeshed in it and view other cultures and the processes going on around us from a point of view which we consider to be useful for our personal existence. The accumulative process has enabled us to envisage longer distances in the past and may disentangle some complications of actual problems, but we shall never be able to trace the future with any certainty and divest ourselves of our own implications in the group and epoch in which we live. Although we act consciously and with certain intentions, although we "plan" diligently, things often turn out in a confoundingly different way, for the mechanism of the complicated machinery of man's cultural life is not sufficiently known and its complicated forces will never be grasped so that we can control them.

6. People are ensnared to a greater or lesser extent in their *dream-world* whatever it may be. To recognize situations and men as they are, to apprehend reality, is a most difficult task since our egocentric emotions interfere with our wishes and anxieties. An inexhaustible stream of error and self-deceit is bubbling from wrong interpretations of social phenomena among all groups of men, because these phenomena cannot be directly grasped with the senses but require exposition and intellectual reconstruction. The emotions mentioned are little concerned with the civilizational equipment.

7. Communication between individuals and groups can be afforded by symbols of sound (language), of movement (mimic gestures), and of drawing and painting (pictures). These symbols may refer to a circumscribed expression (such as "come"), or embrace a complex set of ideas (such as the "cross"). Primitive society has its symbols (e.g., totems) as well as modern society (e.g., flags). Symbolism is extended to the pattern of behavior and to the phrases of daily life with their conventional implication. Reminiscences of history are cherished as national symbols. The significance of a symbol may change in the cultural phases, and the accumulative process may introduce new objects which can be used as symbols. Progress

in thinking has divested the symbols of their former magic associations. But the symbols themselves have remained and will always be an instrument for human intercourse. The human mind needs them. Symbols which are woven into outstanding components of the pattern assume a high, emotional appreciation.

8. Each society contains individuals of different character. There exists a certain variety in the fundamental types of personality in all societies. The shifting process distinguishes those fitting into the cultural phase, and there they may play a prominent role. Thus, the impression may be produced that the favored type is predominant, the more since many others will try to assimilate to the favored type. It should be emphasized that in primitive societies personalities will be found of the same variety of moulds as in others. Each group is locked together by the interplay of the types using the same civilizational equipment. When this becomes richer, secondary specializations may occur from the fundamental moulds.

D. The geographical factor must be discussed briefly in also allowing limited possibilities. Some distinctions should be made: 1. Geographic and climatic conditions exercise a decisive influence in moulding the physical endowment of man, directly by adjustment to the climate, indirectly by imposing a certain training in climbing mountains (New Guinea), in swimming or seafaring (Polynesians), and the like. The accumulative process interferes here in so far as it may alleviate the conditions of existence. Improved therapeutics and hygiene now enable Europeans to live in the tropics without particular danger. The geographical and climatic conditions persist over comparably long epochs of history and therefore are a relatively stable factor in the welding of the cultural systems. Nevertheless, this stability is not absolute. It changes for terrestrial reasons in thousands of years, as it has changed since the ice age, and as can be proved in respect to ancient Egypt.

2. A change can also be provoked by the accumulative process going on in man's equipment. The draining of swamps in Europe, the devastating activity of man in the forests of ancient Asia Minor, of the Greek islands and of modern America are due to man's ability to cut the trees down or burn them. Primitive equipment does not permit that to any degree of importance. The expansion of agriculture and the keeping of sheep and goats are often an impediment to reforestation, and consequently alter climatic conditions and even fauna and flora. These operations, however, are sometimes extended over hundreds of years and very gradually change living conditions. The better the devices available are the quicker such alterations may take place.

In this survey a number of instances has been supplied in order to peel off the bark of the accumulative process and lay bare the purely human and subjective factors which operate as agents in the cultural process.

This analytical procedure reveals the boundaries of human nature within which all tribes and peoples move according to their endowment, tradition and destiny. The building up of a culture is effected with a restricted number of human qualities, varying according to the personality of individuals and groups within a comparatively narrow range.

The development of these qualities cannot be considered here since it covers periods of thousands of years, while in a process of self-education and self-domestication (in fact, of one group by another) a group of mental faculties has jeopardized those of the muscles. In this way man has become biologically involved in the cultural process called accumulative. Its bearing upon culture cannot, of course, be underrated as it has widened man's horizon, and enabled him to interpose links in his political and social machinery in the form of institutions, authority, organizing principles, and abstraction or tokens of value (money). It has also led to an increasing analysis with ensuing synthesis in the field of experience, which in turn means revision of former notions.

Slow as this bio-psychological progress was, it may be skipped over here the more as we are concerned with the type called "*homo sapiens*" and not his forerunners. We may, therefore, stick to the demarcation outlined above. Various stimuli are able to produce the same human reactions: dread of recurrent drought or famine, flight before an enemy with superior arms, or internal dissensions may equally lead to migrations of a part or the whole of a tribe. The limited number of emotions induce psychological circumstances which produce certain attitudes of people and of groups within a community: *elementary situations*. In other cases such an elementary situation may be seen in the acquiescence to a leader, in opposition, in rivalry between individuals or groups, in expansion, aggression or defense.

Out of an elementary situation, such as migration, ensue distinct social and psychological effects: change of environment, probably contact with other groups, and consequently the need of adjustment to the new conditions, as frequently displayed by the enrichment in the civilizational equipment (corresponding perhaps to a loss of devices not useful in the new environment). There may be a need to use other sides of human nature now, or new dominant devices (e.g., previously unfamiliar domesticated animals) may be introduced.

Obviously these changes are due to the power of emotions and their radiation upon many other sides of life. These radiations will have their particular complications in each case. But they govern a certain behavior with its consequences. Therefore the recurrence of elementary situations impresses us often as a repetitior of equal phenomena. But neither the stimuli are the same nor the other complications derived from the accumulative process, consequently there is no equality but simply a similarity.

The appearance of an historic constellation swayed by the recurrence of a governing psycho-social complex may be called *rotation*, an expression which does not imply the identity of recurrence as the word *cycle* does. Lack of analysis has induced philosophers to generalize unduly upon the importance of the governing situation as if "the same" would recur.

Sometimes whole sequences of governing psycho-social complexes recur. They have been described in the previous article⁵ particularly with reference to the meeting of herdsmen and agriculturists. The history of the ancient East, of China and India, of Greece and Rome provides examples of the fact that the sequence of events is very similar under the pressure of connected psycho-social complexes. The kaleidoscopic pictures of history are composed by the relative position of the elementary situations and moved mainly, if not exclusively, by the radiations from the accumulative process. "Functioning" not only refers to the maintenance of conditions but implies infinitesimal variations and alterations as depicted in the article on "Progress."⁶ Out of them the ultimate "change" emerges. Superficially, we also speak of "patterns." Since they involve something static, they require correction in the dynamic sense. We must not only investigate their varying purport to various groups, their overlapping, and expansion (patterns of a profession, of a class, are sometimes even opposed to each other, and sometimes overlap; one component of a pattern may extend, the other component shrink; or the pattern of a group may grow into the pattern of a community embracing many groups). But we should inquire into the origin of each of its components, distinguish between more general patterns referring for example to the Middle Ages or to the Renaissance, and others of short-lived existence during the great French Revolution. We encounter patterns of families and of individuals, and each one has its special *raison d'être*. Similar criticism must be raised in reference to the expression "structure" of a society. The term is a good expedient of thinking but requires a revision from the dynamic point of view.

Speaking of "institutions" we deal not only with a word but with concrete functions of persons within the frame of a wide organization of people. An institution is less pliable than a pattern, since its structure is insured either by tradition or by express formulation (in the case of a state, of family-forms, of an association or of a business). The rigidity of such a structure will undergo minor alterations while it is handled by men whose living conditions change. The rigidity of its structure, however, is its destiny. While valuations change and the balance of reciprocity is readjusted the institution whatever it be may become "antiquated" in face of the current of events. Its destruction will be considered as "progress" just as a while back its establishment meant "progress." The establishment of

⁵ *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 2, Feb. 1937, 35 et seq.

⁶ *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1, Aug. 1936, 604 et seq.

guilds meant progress in comparison to earlier times, while later on the guilds were considered as an impediment to the introduction of "modern" machinery, and still later were revived in another form as trade unions when new emergencies turned up. This kind of progress oscillates between limited possibilities of organization or non-organization but unmistakably shows also the radiation of the accumulative process.

The emotional tie of ourselves, the observers, in the process that we observe frequently renders it hard to arrive at a clear judgment of the situation, its origins and combination of forces. This the more since each epoch is dominated by "governing ideas" and complexes which will doom certain attitudes or actions that in an other epoch are extolled. This makes us particularly intolerant in acknowledging the shift to other limited possibilities. We cannot, however, advance toward an appraisal of the cultural processes as long as we do not succeed in divesting ourselves to some extent of the choking clothes of egocentricity and breathe the air in the land of human possibilities.

BACKGROUNDS OF PRISONERS IN THE WISCONSIN STATE PRISON AND OF THEIR BROTHERS*

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SOCIOLOGISTS, psychologists, and criminologists, have attempted to test the theory that early life-experiences determine the conduct of criminals. Most of these studies, such as those of Healy, Slawson, and Burt, have been concerned with juvenile offenders. Goring in England, Murchison, Stone, Zeleny, Adler and some others in America have given attention to the mental level of the criminal as compared with that of the general population. The Gluecks have made the most careful study on the backgrounds of adults, limited entirely to Massachusetts' reformatory inmates.

Control groups with which to compare prisoners in any study have been somewhat difficult to secure. Goring compared his Parkhurst Prison inmates with a control group in free society. On certain points of their study, the Gluecks have used material from the Federal and Massachusetts censuses. In the present study of 472 prisoners in the Wisconsin State Prison the attempt was made to compare the backgrounds of the prisoners' non-delinquent brothers with the backgrounds of the prisoners themselves. So far as I know, this is the first attempt to use brothers as a control group for adult delinquents. This enabled us to hold certain conditions constant while comparing the relative incidence of other factors.

In the case of both the prisoners and of the brothers, personal interviews were made, supplemented and corrected by any social history to be found in the records of the institution. Further, in the case of prisoners, the interview was checked as far as possible with the records of social agencies, courts, and persons who knew the prisoner. In the interview with the brother, the attempt was made to get information in the same background categories as in the study of the prisoners. The interviews with the prisoners were held first. Those with the brothers were completed only this year. As we compared each category of prisoner and brother, tests were made in each case to determine the statistical significance of any differences found. It was assumed in this study that the distribution of the factors in the background of both the prisoner and the brother should be identical except in so far as the factors considered are a function of time and change in family conditions. In which case the age differential—the brothers being both younger and older, although on the whole older—might make a difference.

* Read at Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 28, 1936.

Unfortunately for our purpose, only 172 of the 472 prisoners had brothers with whom we could compare our prisoners. We eliminated all of those cases in which a brother had not been reared in the same family as the prisoner, all those with brothers who had died and therefore could not be interviewed, and all cases of foster-brothers.

The only categories found to have significant differences between the prisoners and their brothers in our sample were:

- a) Age at which the home was broken.
- b) Favoritism of parents toward siblings.
- c) Relative appreciation of the mother by the prisoner and the brother.
- d) Causes for leaving home.
- e) Age at first full-time job.
- f) Average length of time on job.
- g) Occupation.
- h) Place of work.
- i) Marital status.
- j) Relations with wife.

In the other categories, while there were differences, they were not statistically significant. The fact that certain of these factors did not show any statistical significance does not mean that they might not have had an influence upon the conduct of the prisoner and his brother. It only means that these factors as they appear in our sample apparently had little influence in the adult conduct of brother and prisoner.

Before going into the findings, it may be well to notice some of the limitations upon this study in comparing the backgrounds of the prisoners with the brothers. We cannot generalize concerning all of our 472 prisoners on the basis of this sample of 172, because we cannot say that the sample of those who have brothers is representative of the larger population interviewed at Waupun. This becomes clear as we notice how the brother used as a control was picked. Not only did we pick the prisoners on the basis of those who had non-delinquent brothers, but in some cases the brother who was selected was chosen on the basis of availability for interview. If a brother was not at home or was out of the state or would not cooperate or had a prison record, another brother, if available, was taken. Hence it must be clearly recognized that there is a bias towards stability in the choice of the brother. That is not so serious, however, because stability in the sense that the brother had not been sent to prison was one of the reasons why we wished to compare the backgrounds of the prisoner and the brother.

Further caution is necessary relative to the reliability of the data in the schedule. There were some categories calling for more or less judgment on the part of the interviewer. While not many such categories were used in our analysis, there are some of which we must be aware in any generalization. This becomes clear when it is remembered that three different interviewers saw the brothers in two successive years of the study. Hence there is a possibility that some of the differences, especially those which were more or less dependent upon judgment, may be due to bias. On the other hand, whatever particular bias one interviewer may have had might have been cancelled out by that of another. Each interviewer saw practically

an equal fraction of the whole sample of brothers. While this fact may lessen the bias in any given direction, it makes some caution necessary.

Further, there is the question which should be frankly faced as to whether the approach of the interviewer to the prisoners inside prison walls was just the same as the approach of the interviewer to the brother. Some differences in the data may also be due to the mental set of the prisoner on the one hand and the smugness of the non-convicted brother on the other. That relates, of course, only to the subjective categories. Furthermore, the difference in time between the interview of the brothers and of the prisoners must be kept in mind. Difference in circumstances of each at the time of the interview may have affected the memory and attitudes of both prisoner and brother.

A further caution is necessary by reason of the fact that the numbers in our sample are small. This is especially true of the sex offenders and the murderers. With such small numbers, it is statistically difficult to hold factors constant. Furthermore, in a number of the categories the age differential between the brother and the prisoner makes cautious conclusions necessary. By reason of these difficulties it was necessary to throw out certain categories in the original schedule.

To assert that certain factors which seem to differentiate prisoners from their non-criminal brothers implies that differences between the proportions of brothers and prisoners in the various sub-classes would occur infrequently by chance. To obtain some estimate of the role of chance in these differences, the standard error of the differences between the proportions was computed.¹ All differences more than twice their respective standard errors were considered significant. It is to be noted that this procedure assumes that no correlation between brothers and prisoners exists. Actually, since prisoner-brother pairs came from the same family such correlation is present. The nature of the data is such, however, that there is apparently little gained in correcting for such correlation.² In general the results of such correction would be to reduce the error of the differences and hence those differences which are now significant would become increasingly significant, and some of the differences, not now significant, would become so.³

$$^1 E^2 = \frac{P_1 Q_1}{N_1} + \frac{P_2 Q_2}{N_2}$$

² As the factors considered are largely qualitative it would be necessary to compute coefficients of contingency or tetrachoric coefficients of correlation. Throughout there is scarcely a sufficient number of cases or cells to give much meaning to the coefficient of contingency. Likewise the valid use of tetrachoric r assumes that continuous, quantitative, and fairly normally distributed series are being used. Such assumptions are difficult to rationalize for most of the factors in this study. In view of these difficulties it was felt that the use of a correction for correlation would give an air of illusory accuracy to the analysis.

³ From the formula for the standard error of a difference between proportions of correlated series ($E_{12}^2 = E_1^2 + E_2^2 - 2r_{12} \cdot E_1 \cdot E_2$) it is apparent that if the correlation is positive the original error is reduced. On *a priori* grounds it seems improbable with one or two exceptions, that any of the factors would show a negative correlation between brothers and prisoners.

Age at Breaking of Home. The age at which the home was broken differed between the brothers and the prisoners. Significantly more of the brothers were nineteen and over years of age, when the home was broken.

Reasons for Leaving Home. The reasons for leaving home as between the prisoners and the brothers show significant differences only between the property offenders and their brothers. Fewer of the prisoners left home for purposes of work and more because of disharmony in the family. Here the sex offenders show just the opposite tendency.

Feeling of Favoritism. Significant differences appeared also in the feeling of the prisoners and the brothers respectively as to whether or not they were favorites of the parents. Significantly more of the prisoners thought themselves to be favorites of the mother among the property offenders and the murderers. Among the sex offenders, on the contrary, more of the prisoners felt that they were not favorites of anyone.

This emotional attitude is revealed again by the sex offender in the low degree of appreciation of the mother. This feeling of regard for the mother was significantly greater among the property offenders and the murderers than among their brothers, and much greater than among the sex offenders. The differences between the sex offenders and their brothers was not significant. Thus, the neutral emotional tone of the sex offenders stands out.

Work Records. The next question we tried to answer was, Is there any difference between the work record of the prisoners and that of their brothers? It was found that a significantly larger proportion of the prisoners took full-time jobs at the age of "14 or under" in all three classes of offenders. The difference, however, is statistically significant only for the murderers. Further, the average length of time on the job shows some important differences. Fewer prisoners remained on the job more than 1 year among the property offenders and the murderers than their brothers. The obverse of this shows in the fact that more prisoners than their brothers held jobs from 3 months to 1 year among the property offenders and the sex offenders. Here the difference between the murderers and their brothers was in the same direction, but not significantly different. Again, the occupation of prisoners and their brothers differed in some important respects. Fewer of the prisoners among the sex offenders were farmers than their brothers. Fewer, but not significantly fewer, prisoners were farmers than their brothers in the two other categories of offenders. More of the property offenders were in skilled occupations than their brothers. The same tendency is to be seen in the other two groups of offenders but the difference is not significant. Fewer of the property offenders followed unskilled occupations than their brothers. Just the opposite is found among the sex offenders. Significantly more prisoners than their brothers were in unskilled occupations.

Stability of Job. As to the place of work, a significant difference was found between the property offenders and their brothers. A smaller proportion

of the prisoners worked in only one or two towns and a larger proportion of the prisoners than of the brothers worked in a larger number of places. The same thing is indicated by the comparison of the number of firms or individuals for whom the prisoner and his brother worked. A smaller number of the prisoners worked for only one or two firms and a larger proportion for from three to six firms. This again shows apparently the relative instability of the prisoners on a job.

Marital Status. Hypothetically, the status of a man in his own family relationships has a bearing upon his conduct. Our examples showed fewer prisoners married and more single than their brothers—among the property offenders significantly fewer married and more were single. The same differences were found in the other two categories of offenders, but the difference was not significant. Significantly more prisoners were divorced among the property offenders. The differences between the prisoners, among the sex offenders, and the murderers and their brothers, were of the same nature but not statistically significant. This table is particularly interesting, in view of the consistent predominance of brothers in the married group, and conversely the predominance of prisoners separated, divorced or widowed. However, significant differences appeared between the brothers and the prisoners, only among the property offenders. However, these differences must be scrutinized carefully in terms of age and social status.

Domestic Disharmony. We endeavored to ascertain whether there was any variation between married prisoners and married brothers as to harmony or disharmony between themselves and their wives. Our sample showed very much greater disharmony between the prisoners and their wives than between the brothers and their wives. Caution is necessary here, since it is possible that the differences were due to some extent to the mental set of the brother at the time of the interview. However, in view of the fact just previously cited that there was a preponderance of prisoners who were separated, divorced, or widowed at the time of their conviction and that, at the time of the interview of the brothers the latter had had a longer period in which domestic disharmony might manifest itself in separation, divorce, or widowhood, the difference seems to be significant. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the larger group of murderers interviewed eighteen of the ninety-two killed their own wives; thus widowed by their own hands.

Here again, the relative instability of the prisoners, compared with their brothers seems to appear, or else the prisoners were relatively more unfortunate than their brothers in the choice of a mate.

Education of Wife. In order to get some light on the causes of domestic disharmony in the prisoner's family, the attempt was made to compare the prisoners and brothers as to the relative education of the wife with that

of the husband. The samples showed that significantly fewer prisoners than brothers married women with the same education, among both the property offenders and the murderers. An opposite and nearly as significant difference was found among the sex offenders. Further, more prisoners than brothers married women of higher education than themselves among the property offenders and murderers. Again an opposite and almost significant difference was found among the sex offenders as compared with the brothers. In other words, the greater variability of prisoners' behavior in this respect occurs among all offenders.

Nationality of Wife. On the theory that the difference of nationality may have contributed to disharmony, we compared the prisoners and the brothers as to whether they respectively married women of the same or different nationality from themselves. The only significant difference was found among the property offenders where fewer prisoners married women of the same nationality than the brothers.

Religion of Wife. A like comparison was made as to the religion of the wife. Here, among the property offenders and the sex offenders, significantly fewer prisoners than brothers married women of the same religion. A similar but not significant difference between the murderers and the brothers appears. Here again, the evidence would seem to point to the greater variability of the prisoners' behavior.

Economic Status of Wife. Possibly the economic status of the wife before marriage, relative to that of the husband, may have affected the harmonious relations of the family. Significantly more property offenders than their brothers married women of higher economic status. Fewer among the property offenders, than their brothers, married women of the same economic status, and more property offenders than their brothers married women of lower economic status. There were no significant differences in this respect between the sex offenders and their brothers.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that among property offenders and the murderers, differences in education, nationality and in relation between the husband and wife were greater among the prisoners than among their brothers. This suggests the possibility that the greater disharmony of the prisoners' families, as compared with those of the brothers', may have been due to these differences between husband and wife.

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ALL PRISONERS AND THEIR BROTHERS

In order to generalize with respect to all prisoners and their brothers, let us ignore the classification of prisoners by offense and observe the significant differences between all prisoners and their brothers:

- (1) Significantly fewer prisoners than their brothers felt that they were favorites of anyone (C.R. = 2.13), while significantly more of the prisoners

felt that they were their mother's favorites. This may be interpreted to mean that the prisoners were more egotistical than their brothers, which may have a good deal of significance for their behavior. This finding may be significant where considered in connection with the fact that a much larger proportion of the prisoners than their brothers felt a keener appreciation of the mother. The critical ratio here was 2.66.

(2) Throwing together all the prisoners and comparing them with all the brothers as to steadiness on a job, it appears that the prisoners more frequently held a job a short time than the brothers. The critical ratio here is 3.76. Without question, as to their steadiness on the job, the prisoners were less stable than their brothers.

(3) When we throw all the prisoners together and notice the differences between the occupation of the prisoners and the brothers, it appears clearly that a significantly larger proportion of the brothers than of the prisoners were farmers. The critical ratio here is 2.38.

(4) Likewise, a significant difference appears between the prisoners and their brothers as to the age at which each had a full-time job. Certainly more of the prisoners had a full-time job under fourteen years of age than their brothers, and fewer of the prisoners than of their brothers had a full-time job between the ages of fourteen and twenty. The critical ratios respectively are 2.11 and 2.16.

(5) As to marital status, a significant difference appears in that more of the prisoners never married. The critical ratio here is 3.76. Age differentiation and also the fact that the prisoners could not marry after entering prison may account for this difference. In comparing the marital status of the married prisoners with that of all the married brothers, again significant differences appear. Significantly fewer of the prisoners were married at the time of the interview. Significantly more of the prisoners were divorced. The critical ratio here is 4.30. This difference may be due, however, to the fact that imprisonment is a ground for divorce in this state. When all the prisoners were lumped together without reference to the crimes for which they were convicted, it is clear that their relations with their wives were much more disharmonious than were those of the brothers. The critical ratio here is 7.63. There may be a bias in the data on which this finding is based, although the overt evidences of disharmony presented for separation and divorce would indicate that the difference is still significant.

(6) When all the prisoners and their brothers are considered together with regard to economic, educational and religious statuses of the wives compared to those of the husbands, significant differences appear. More of the prisoners married wives with a lower economic status than their brothers. The critical ratio is 3.11. Fewer of the prisoners married wives of the same nationality. Here the critical ratio is 2.64. Also, fewer of the prisoners than of their brothers married wives of the same religion. The

critical ratio here is 4.69. Likewise, fewer of the prisoners than of the brothers married wives of the same degree of education as that of the husband. More of the prisoners than of the brothers married wives with greater education than themselves. The critical ratio was 2.76. Thus, on four points—economic status, education, nationality, and religion—the prisoners and their wives show greater differences than the brothers and their wives. These findings suggest the possibility that these differences in background between the prisoners and their wives may account for the greater disharmony between prisoners and their wives than that found between brothers and their wives.

Thus, in those aspects of the background which we have been able to test—work record, marital status, affection for mother, feeling of favoritism, relationships with wife—prisoners in our sample seem to show greater variability in their reaction to social situations than their brothers. These reactions show greater departures from the accepted pattern of conduct, aside from delinquency, than their brothers. The picture presented concerning the prisoner as compared with his brother, is that of greater variability on the points which we have tested. This picture is confirmed by concrete details of the case histories. The picture suggests that rather early in life, especially during the period of adolescence, the prisoners developed a pattern of reaction to life's situations which grew into an unstable economic career, an unstable domestic situation, and prevented their striking roots economically and socially which would tend to keep them from a delinquent career. Hence, making every discount possible, it appears that somewhere along in the development of these prisoners certain social and economic relationships were established which were not favorable to conduct according to the established patterns of society. The data with regard to their feeling of favoritism and their affection for the mother, suggests the possibility that early in their lives these prisoners developed a self-centeredness which did not make for social stability. However, it does not prove it. Whether this sample represents the total of prisoners we studied, we are unable to say. Neither can we say whether this sample represents prisoners in general. We can only say that, so far as our sample is concerned these rather striking differences stand out.

A number of the points in the background which we investigated did not yield any positive results. In some cases this was due to the fact that we could not depend upon the reliability of the data gathered because this data had to be categorized by subjective judgment. Sometimes it was due to the fact that, although the data were objective enough, no significant differences were found. The latter are of scientific interest in this inquiry. Practically nothing of value came out of our study as to the influence of the broken home upon conduct, as between the prisoners and his brothers. No significant differences appear between the prisoners and their brothers as to

the causes for leaving home, as to the age of leaving home, or as to the age when each became financially independent. No significant differences appeared with respect to the category of age when each left school and as to whether the sibling did part-time work while in school. Nor was there any difference as to grade attained in school. No significance could be found in the differences between the prisoners and their brothers as to the length of time unemployed in the previous twelve months, nor as to the relative number of children in the family of the prisoner and of his brother, nor as to the population of the place of residence. Nor could we find any significant differences as to the age at which prisoners and brothers left school. Previous marriages yielded no differences. Also no significant differences appeared as to whether the prisoners and their brothers were raised in the home of the parents or in a foster home. No significant differences appear as between prisoners and brothers concerning whether they left home or remained living at home.

So far as our results from the sample we studied and by the methods employed go, three significant sets of factors in the background stand out—(1) the emotional tone apparently developed during childhood, (2) the work record, including age at which a full-time job was obtained and steadiness on the job, and (3) relationships with the wife, if married. Time does not permit an attempt at interpretation of these findings.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE SOVIET UNION*

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THE PURPOSE of this paper is to give an account of the development of research in crime as it functions in the world of Bolshevism, a world that is yet strange and quite unintelligible to the rest of Western civilization.

Criminological research in the Soviet Union covers only a brief span of history. Not until next fall will the October Revolution celebrate its twentieth anniversary. Yet in this short period there have been established and are now functioning several research institutes, scores of specialists are giving their full time to the study of crime and the criminal, and the scientific publications in the field of criminology compare most favorably with those of other countries.

In order for us to understand, at least in part, the problems and progress of criminological research in the Soviet Union they must be seen as clearly as possible in the frame of reference of the new social order and particularly in terms of communistic ideology, of the rapid changes in the crime situation, and of the revolutionary innovations in the treatment of criminals.

In presenting then this necessary orientation, first consideration must be given to the new conception of crime and the criminal. The Marxian ideology rejects completely the conceptions of "crime" and "the criminal" as absolutes; both are relative to the given society with its given class structure. In the Soviet Union the criminal code defines the term "crime" as "a socially dangerous act" and the "criminal" as "a socially dangerous person." Characterized as criminal is "every action or inaction directed against the dictatorship of the proletariat, obstructing socialist construction or disorganizing the socialist order and therefore socially dangerous."

The element of "social danger" is essential to the criminal act as seen in the further provision that in its absence an action coming formally under the provision of some statute "cannot be regarded as criminal," and in its corollaries that "the penalty is not to be applied first when an action regarded criminal at the time of its execution has lost its socially dangerous character when the verdict is to be pronounced, and second when the person perpetrating the crime has proved at the time of the verdict his positive usefulness. In fixing criminal responsibility . . . the court shall determine how dangerous are the persons committing the acts, the degree of preparation for the crime and the factors preventing the crime from being carried out."¹

* Read at the Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 30, 1936.

¹ G. E. Volkoff, *The Class Character of Crime and the Soviet Criminal Law*. Edited by N. V. Krilenco. Moscow, 1935, p. 212.

It thus comes about that certain acts that are crimes with us are not crimes in the Soviet Union, such as blasphemy, perjury, adultery, and until recently abortion. On the other hand, certain acts that are not crimes with us are crimes in Russia, such as private trade, except as regulated by the government, speculation, and infection of another person with a venereal disease.²

In the orientation of this new ideology crimes against the individual lose and those against society gain significance. The maximum punishment of ordinary murder is ten years imprisonment, but the assassination of an official, industrial or governmental, bears the death penalty. The theft of a garment from another person is penalized by three months incarceration, but the taking of a garment from a factory exacts a penalty of two years imprisonment. This is especially marked in the new attitude toward public socialist property. It was written in the law of August 7, 1932, that public socialist property is sacred and inviolable and that persons violating it are enemies of society. Severe penalties were provided for crimes of this nature. This attitude has now been incorporated into the New Soviet Constitution in a provision (Chap. 10, Article 131) which reads:

Every citizen of the USSR is obliged to safeguard and consolidate public, socialist property as the sacred inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of wealth and might of the Fatherland, as the source of prosperous and cultural life for all toilers. Persons attempting to violate public socialist property are enemies of the people.

The increasing respect for public socialist property is susceptible to statistical measurement. The marked decline in crime during the last four years in the Soviet Union is even greater in offenses against public than against private property. The most recent statistics are those reported by A. Shlapochnikov, assistant director of the Institute of Criminology.³

The greatest drop was in the decrease in large-scale theft of public property. In the Russian Republic, taking the number of persons convicted under the 1932 law during the first half of 1933 as 100, there was a decline during the second half of that year to 48.2, during the first half of 1934 to 27.5, for the second half of 1934 to 22.1, in the first six months of 1935 to 9.6, and during the second half of 1935 to 5.6.

The number of persons convicted of lesser thefts of public property, dealt with in Paragraph 162 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, also declined. During the first half of last year, the index of persons convicted under this law dropped to 82 (again taking the number convicted during the first half of 1933 as 100) and during the last six months of 1935, to 66.

Especially noteworthy is the sharp drop in the percentage of those convicted under the law of August 7, 1932, for theft of collective farm property. Such convictions in 1932 amounted to 57 percent of the total number of convictions under that law; in 1935 this percentage declined to 37.3.

² See G. E. Volkoff, *op. cit.*

³ *Moscow Daily News*, November 7, 1936, p. 27.

Statistics on larceny convictions indicate that achievements in socialist construction, the liquidation of poverty and unemployment and the rising material, spiritual and cultural level have brought about a considerable decrease in thefts of private property. Considering the total number of persons convicted of larceny in the RSFSR in 1933 as 100, the index dropped to 57.9 during the first half of 1934 and to 38.6 for the first six months of 1935. During the last half of 1935, there was a further drop of 3.8 percent compared with the first half of the year.

Criminological research must also be surveyed against the background of the sudden and kaleidoscopic changes in the economic, social, and crime situation in the Soviet Union. The aftermath of Civil War brought the problem of banditry to the fore. The internecine conflict between Bolsheviks and counter-revolutionists and the ensuing famine years produced the horde of wild children (*bezprizornы*) estimated as high as nearly six millions, which in any country would constitute a social problem of the first magnitude. The Nep period, 1921-24, with its temporary abandonment of socialism, created new problems of speculation and embezzlement.

The first Five Year Plan, 1929-32, with its drive for the rapid realization of socialism through the establishment of heavy industry and the collectivization of farms, intensified the class warfare and increased the problems of hooliganism.⁴ At present there is a lively realization that even with increasing popular well-being the problem of juvenile delinquency is not entirely solved.⁵

Most interesting to foreign observers, however, and undoubtedly of the greatest significance have been the series of revolutionary innovations in the treatment of criminals. A brief resumé will bring to our attention the outstanding experiments and demonstrations in penology.

First of all, the life of inmates in places of confinement has been organized around work, usually at union wages, as the curative agent. Recreational, cultural, and political activities have been introduced, including games and sports, library, the newspaper and wall newspaper, study groups, dramatics, band and orchestra, and last but not least, the inmate soviet. Other important features of correctional institutions are self-government in various degrees, annual vacations and opportunities for work and fuller education after discharge.

Secondly, a number of labor communes, or collective communities with members selected from youthful criminals, have been established. The first and best known of these was instituted at Bolshevo by the GPU in 1924. The principles underlying these communes were dramatized in the film, "The Road to Life."⁶ All reports appear to agree upon the success

⁴ Interview, July 1933, with Director Estrin, Institute for the Study of Crime and Correction.

⁵ Nathan Berman, "Juvenile Delinquency, the Family, and the Courts," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, March, 1937.

⁶ See Maurice Hindus, *The Great Offensive*. Chap. xvi.

achieved in this experiment of the reformation of ex-convicts through participation in communal life.

Since 1930 increasing use has been made of non-confinement methods of punishment similar to fine or probation in the United States. The difference, however, lies in the fact that supervision is carried on largely through place of employment and the penalty consists partly in wage reduction. The result has been a great decrease in confinement as a punishment for crime.

Most recent and most dramatic has been the utilization of certain construction projects like the building of the White-Sea-Baltic Canal and the canal connecting the Moscow and the Volga Rivers in order to bring about the reformation of the convict labor force. The play "The Aristocrats" (the criminals so styled themselves because of their distaste for work) is a powerful presentation of the triumph of Bolshevik principles over the most refractory human material through the means of a great work of socialist construction.

Upon this background of the communist conception of crime and the criminal, the rapid changes in the crime situation, and the striking innovations in the treatment of the offender may now be portrayed the development of criminological research.

The problem of criminological study after the Revolution was to work out methods of research upon the basis of the dialectic materialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to make studies that would be serviceable to those governmental agencies dealing with crime and the criminal, such as the prosecutor, courts, and institutions of confinement.

The years 1921-1928 may be characterized as the period of organization of criminological institutes and of the publication of studies. Institutes were founded in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev, Rostov and other cities. Of all the institutes the Moscow Cabinet for the Study of the Personality of the Criminal and Criminality organized in 1923 under the Moscow Board of Health was the most productive. Beginning its publications in 1925 it put out four year-books or collections of studies under the general title "The Criminal and Criminality" and a collection of papers called *Law-Breaking in the Field of Sexual Relations, Hooliganism and Stabbing, and Begging and Vagabondage*.

The years 1928-1931 were a period of critical evaluation of the progress made and of reorganization. At the All-Union Penitentiary Congress held October 1928 there was sharp criticism of the deviations in research from the line of the Marx and Engels dialectic method and the following resolution was passed:

The Conference stresses the fact that research in scientific institutions of the USSR must be conducted on the basis of Dialectic Materialism, proceeding from the unconditional acceptance of the prevailing and decisive significance of economic

and social factors in the explanation of the phenomenon of criminality as a whole, as well as in the working out of rational methods to combat criminality, and the application of measures of social protection in relation to criminals, denying as contradictory to principles of revolutionary Marxism any attempts to explain criminality through the individual criminal. The Conference considers that the study of the personality of the criminal will take on meaning only in the background of and in accordance with an all-round fundamental analysis of the social-economic factors in criminality.

Early in 1929 C. Y. Bulatov in an article⁷ entitled "The Revival of Lombroso in Soviet Criminology" attacked the Moscow Cabinet for the study of the personality of the criminal and of crime. He cited different studies of the Bureau to show the explanation of criminal behavior in terms of the biological traits of the criminals rather than in terms of the economic and social situations of the crime. He explained this Neo-Lombrosian theory in terms of the predominating position of the psychiatrists in the Cabinet with their interest in trying to understand crime through a study of the personality of the criminal, rather than following the sociological procedure of attempting to understand the criminal by first analyzing the crime.

Early in 1929 a symposium of criminologists was held under the auspices of the section of law and government of the Communist Academy in Moscow for the purpose of discussing the question of the study of criminality in the Soviet Union and in planning a future course for these studies. The first speaker (Estrin) made the following criticisms of the then existing state of criminological research:

1. Criminological research has broken away from the problems of soviet criminal law and the scientific theory of Soviet criminology.
2. Individual criminological institutions are working in isolation with consequent duplication of effort.
3. Serious errors of principle and deviations from our fundamental theoretical concepts of Marxism and Leninism have been allowed to creep in.
4. Criminological institutions are giving little or no help in the reforms of criminal policy and the remaking of our criminal code.

In the discussion which followed, the representatives of the different institutions attempt to defend their institutions particularly against the charge of deviation whether toward Neo-Lombrosianism, a charge leveled principally against the Moscow Cabinet, or towards bourgeois sociology, a charge directed against the Government Institute. The chief error attributed to non-Marxian sociology was its failure to find that the chief economic and social factors in crime arise out of the class structure of society.

⁷ *The Revolution of Law*, January-February, 1929, 42-61.

The next year, 1930, V. Vnukov, the one psychiatrist at the symposium who refused to apologize for his biological point of view, published a little brochure entitled "The Problem of the Study of the Personality of the Criminal in the Light of Marxist Criminology." In this treatise he makes a discriminating statement of the role of the psychiatrist in the study of criminality. He says: "The behavior of the individual in terms of its content is sociological and in terms of its mechanisms is biological. This duality is only apparent and actually it is one, as is the organism which moves in the frame of social experience." Vnukov appeals to an excerpt from a letter of Karl Marx for justification of the study of biological traits in behavior.

"History," Marx writes, "would have a very mystical character if 'chance' did not play any role. These chances, of course, themselves become component parts of the general course of development and are balanced by other chances. But acceleration and retardation to a great extent depend on these 'chances,' among which there figures a 'chance occurrence,' such as the character of those people who, at the beginning of a movement, stand at the head of it."

Vnukov applies this conception to the problem of the criminal by saying that "it is the biological traits of the person who commits this or that 'socially dangerous act,' which constitute the 'chance' which expresses the particular case of necessity and serves as a supplement of the latter."

Starting from this premise Vnukov thus elaborated his position:

Criminality according to the Marxian school of criminology is the direct derivative of class relations in society. There is not and cannot be any breaking of "external" norms, therefore there is not and cannot be criminality as a certain constant category.

The psychiatrist studies, not the criminal and not the law breaker, but a definite personality, with certain qualitative or quantitative changes, with mechanisms, the discerning of which is the only way to understand scientifically the fabric of behavior. The psychiatrist-biologist tries and must continue to try to correlate and compare the appropriate mechanisms of a given personality with the cause (occasion) which brought him to the anti-social path. This correlation is not related to biology; here the psychopathologist uses norms taken from the plane of social causation.

By this theoretical statement of the place of the study of biological factors in the framework of the Marxian explanation of behavior, Vnukov justified the psychiatric study of the individual offender and the function of the Serbsky Institute of Legal Psychiatric Expertism in the network of institutions dealing with the criminal.

From 1931 to the present time chief attention has been given to the development of the work of research institutes particularly for practical service in the fight against crime, in the treatment of criminals, and in crime prevention.

The two leading research institutes in the Soviet Union are selected to exhibit the present stage of criminological research in the Soviet Union. One of these devotes its attention chiefly to statistical studies of social and

economic factors in criminality, the other to the intensive study of the individual offender.⁸

The Institute for the Study of Crime and Correction⁹ is an adjunct of the Commissariat of Justice of the Russian Republic, and of the Attorney General of the Soviet Union. Its main purpose is to direct and organize criminal statistics, to study previous aspects of crime and delinquency, and to work out proposals and plans for improving agencies of criminal justice and of correctional institutions. Towards this end the Institute carries on systematic and periodic research in trends, both as to the nature and extent of crime, as well as the methods of combating it. On the basis of its studies and analyses, the Institute makes specific recommendations to the agencies actively engaged in fighting crime—the courts, the prosecution, correctional institutions, etc.,—how they can best improve their work and achieve more effective results.

The Institute functions through the media of: (1) periodic conferences attended by representatives of various crime-fighting agencies where results of studies are presented and discussed; (2) through books, magazine articles, and bulletins devoted to the discussion of problems of crime and methods of treatment; (3) through influencing criminal and penal legislation by the Soviet Union or its component republics.

Some of the published works of the Institute are: *From Prisons to Educational Institutions*, a collection of eighteen articles dealing with the theory and practice of present-day Soviet correctional institutions, both for adults and juveniles. This volume, published in 1934, presents in its 450 pages the most complete account of this subject that has yet been made.

The Bulletin of Foreign Information, a monthly publication of the Institute established in 1931, contains information upon the more important developments in the field of criminology in foreign countries, in the form mainly of translations from newspapers and periodicals printed abroad. In the fifty pages of the Bulletin are covered a few countries' peak news—celebrated trials, new decrees, publications of statistics, etc.—as well as considerable biographical notes. It has a circulation of only 500, since according to its own statement, the Bulletin is mailed only to the organs of the judiciary and prosecution.

In 1921 the Institute of Legal Psychiatry was founded in Moscow, in the name of Professor Serbsky. In 1930 Dr. Cecelia Feinberg, who was director of the Moscow Cabinet for the Study of the Personality of the Criminal was made director of the Serbsky Institute which took over the psychiatric part of the work of the Cabinet.¹⁰ This Institute, like the Institute for the Study

⁸ For an earlier and fuller account of these and other criminological institutes see E. Tobenkin, *Stalin's Ladder*, pp. 263-78.

⁹ The complete title is The Institute for the Study of Crime and Correctional Labor Policies at the Attorney General of the USSR and Commissariat of Justice of the RSFSR.

¹⁰ The statistical branch of the work of the Cabinet was transferred to the Institute for the Study of Crime and Correction.

of Crime and Correction, is under the auspices of the Commissariat of Justice of the Soviet Union. Its chief function is the expert examination of criminals, especially those awaiting trial or sentence after conviction, to determine their mental condition as affecting their legal responsibility for the offense committed.

At the Institute the patient receives a detailed, physical, mental, and social examination. At the conclusion of the study period of not less than thirty days, the patient appears before the expert commission of the Institute, consisting of a chairman, a professor, the scientific director of the Institute, the supervisor of the clinical departments and the physician reporter. After the expert commission has heard the written statement of the investigating physician, which has been previously checked by the clinical department, and the patient himself is examined, a report is prepared to be sent to the prosecutor or to the judge. Although this report is not binding upon the court authorities, it is usually accepted and those found to be mentally ill are sent to psychiatric hospitals for treatment.

The headquarters of the Institute has beds for 150 patients and is organized into five departments: (a) for disturbed patients, (b) for quiet patients, (c) for isolation of individuals, (d) for women, and (e) for the clinical diagnosis of juvenile delinquents. The staff consisted in 1933 of 22 psychiatrists, 1 psychologist, 1 biochemist, 1 sociologist, and 10 internes or aspirants.

The work of the Institute is closely connected not only with the court but with correctional industrial institutions, with places of custodial care and confinement and with the city psychiatric hospitals.

Growing out of the practical work of the Institute is a series of problems of research, as follows:

1. The fundamental problems of legal psychiatry and criminology to be studied by Marxian-Leninian methodology to determine the theoretical basis of the practical work of the Institute.

2. The problems of expert legal psychiatry as related to the policy and practice of criminal law in the Soviet courts.

3. Problems of psychohygiene in places of custodial confinement, as the prophylaxis of mental disorders and the appropriate classification and placement of psychopaths in places of custodial confinement.

4. The clinical study of mental disorders of patients in relation to the legal question of responsibility.

5. Participation in the working out of statutes for legislation upon mentally ill delinquents, expert testimony, guardianship, and methods of social defense of a medical character, etc.

The Institute stresses educational work by training aspirants (internes) to be legal psychiatric experts and scientific workers, by giving instruction to students in law and medical schools and to doctors in the Institute for

the Re-education of Physicians, and by special courses and conferences for criminal investigators and physicians from all parts of the Soviet Union.

In the words of its director, Dr. Feinberg, "The Institute is developing both its scientific research and its practical work for the Second Five Year Plan so that it will be of active assistance to the organs of criminal investigation and to correctional industrial institutions by formulating the principles basic to the correctional industrial policy which are in accordance with the present stage of psychiatric knowledge."

The only periodicals now regularly appearing in the Soviet Union and dealing exclusively with the subject of crime and the state's attempt to combat it are: *Socialist Jurisprudence* and *Soviet Justice*.

Socialist Jurisprudence is the monthly organ of the Attorney General of the Soviet Union. It is a small magazine of 64 pages and is issued in an edition of 10,000 copies. The responsible editor, A. J. Vishinski, is also chief prosecutor of the entire Soviet Union, with an assisting staff of five criminologists.

The articles in this publication deal almost exclusively with practical problems involving the courts and the prosecution, their method of handling and executing cases, of fighting delinquency and exterminating speculation. Besides articles, the magazine contains notes and comments pertaining to aspects of jurisprudence in the various republics, the most recent laws and decrees, and book reviews.

Soviet Justice is the organ of the Commissariat of Justice of the Russian Republic. It is considerably larger in size than the former magazine, but contains only 24 pages. It appears three times a month and has a circulation of 18,000 to 20,000. Its responsible editor is F. M. Nachimson, assisted by three others, including Krilenko, the Commissar of Justice of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Justice, like *Socialist Jurisprudence*, emphasizes in its articles the practical aspects of crime and justice. One finds, too, that some of the authors contributing to one also contribute to the other. Likewise, similar subjects are often treated in both publications. *Soviet Justice* appears to have more special departments such as: Local Practices, notes pertaining to judicial events and experiences in various parts of the country; Local Signals, somewhat the same as the above, except more by way of critical observation; Notes and Comments; Across the Border, foreign news pertaining to criminology taken from the research of the Institute for the Study of Crime and other sources; Legal Practices, which deals with judicial decrees recently publicized.

Both publications are of an educational-propaganda nature. Their objective is to raise the theoretical understanding of individuals and groups in the field, by means of clarifying issues, by disseminating information, and by the interchange of experiences. While technical research papers are not

presented in these magazines, much of the material in the articles is derived from research.

Crime news is not featured by the press. It is omitted entirely or else limited to a bare statement of the occurrence which is relegated to an obscure place. Nor are findings and conclusions of research studies given space in the newspapers. Only when a program of action has been approved by the appropriate governmental agency, is public announcement made of the decrees putting the plan into effect, together with a brief explanation of the reasons therefor.

Since 1930 the publications in the field of crime have been increasingly directed to practical problems with an emphasis upon improved methods of treatment and upon the education of personnel working with offenders. This may be seen in a series of research reports under the general title of "Protection of Children and Children's Rights,"¹¹ such as "Juvenile Delinquency," "Combatting Homelessness among Children," and "Crimes against Minors," all of which contain a chronological presentation of decrees and regulations providing for child care and welfare. The latest publication of the Institute for the Study of Crime and Correction, "From Prisons to Educational Institutions," describes the objectives and the constructive activities now in operation in labor correctional places of confinement. A small book published by the Serbsky Institute, entitled "Psychopathies and their Legal-Psychiatric Significance," classifies individual cases by types of psychoses, describes the methods of examination and treatment procedures with the object of educating the workers in investigating organs and in correctional institutions.

The one outstanding theoretical work published in recent years with a preface by Krilenko, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, is *The Class Character of Crime and the Soviet Criminal Law* by G. E. Volkov, an exposition of the class basis of criminology and criminal justice. There yet remains to be written a systematic criminology developed along the lines of dialectic materialism and Revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. It is interesting to note in passing that the only systematic work in the field of criminology since the revolution, *Criminal Psychology: Criminal Types*, contains a foreword in which the publication committee warns the readers that "the treatise is based neither upon the logical Marxist basis of criminal science nor upon the objective materialistic understanding of psychology."

¹¹ Moscow, 1932.

THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF 381 RECIPIENTS OF OLD AGE ALLOWANCES*

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STUDIES of the aged have been concerned largely with their economic security, their health and their employability. With the support of the 1880 Fund for Old Age Welfare at Vassar College, Miss C. Margaret Morgan has made a study of their attitudes, contentment and social adjustment. The principal sample was not representative of aged persons in general, but consisted of 381 persons receiving old-age allowances from New York State. Necessarily they were 70 years of age or more; slightly less than half of them were 75 and over. Contact was made with the subjects through the co-operation of the State Department of Social Welfare. About half of the cases were from Tompkins County, a typical Upstate county including the city of Ithaca and many villages, as well as open country population. These cases constituted practically all of the old-age grantees of that county and they were all interviewed by Miss Morgan personally. The remainder of the principal sample was made up of 116 subjects from New York City and other groups from Buffalo and Albany. These were interviewed by other social workers.

For most of the tabulations and comparisons, the entire sample of 381 cases was divided in three ways: men versus women, Upstate versus Mixed culture, and on the basis of their degree of happiness or adjustment. The Upstate cultural group as finally defined was about 83 percent identical with the Tompkins County group. It was made to include all Upstate native-born Protestants of apparently native parentage. The Mixed group included all the New York City people and the non-Protestants and foreign stock people from upstate. Happiness or adjustment was measured on a scale of zero to 11 points by scoring the answers to five questions, the two most important being: "Do these things (activities which subject reported as occupying his daily time) interest you?", and "Generally speaking, do you enjoy your life now?" This so-called adjustment score was found to be internally consistent; the several partial indices show mostly low positive and two zero intercorrelations, and the correlation between the question, "Do you enjoy your life now?" and the total remaining elements of the score was found to be $.48 \pm .03$. The associations between the adjustment score and other variables were principally measured by comparing the approximate upper third or 122 cases, the "Happiest" people, with the lowest "third" or 117 cases, the "Unhappiest" people. The terms "Happy" and

* Read at the Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 28, 1936. Complete report will be published as a monograph.

"Unhappy" will refer to the upper and lower *halves* on the adjustment scale.

The method of obtaining the data was to interview each subject personally, the interviewer having before her a mimeographed schedule of 76 questions. She wrote down the answers during the interview except where this seemed to cause nervousness and inhibition in the subject. This result, however, was infrequent: these people were accustomed to being interviewed by social workers.

Social and Populational Characteristics. As might be expected, this sample represents the working class more heavily than the business or farming class. Of the male subjects only 12 percent gave farming as having been their occupation at any time. To be sure, 25 percent of the Tompkins County males had farmed, which is approximately the percent which the farming population now bears to the total population of that county. However, these subjects belong to an earlier generation when farming was proportionately greater than now; it appears, therefore, that even in Tompkins County the pensioned oldsters are drawn relatively less from the farming class than from the urban working class. About 14 percent of the entire sample of males had been business, professional or white-collar workers, as compared with 20 to 25 percent which would be the normal figure for the whole population. Only 13 percent of the sample were secondary school graduates, but this figure is not much below the general average for their generation. Only 5 percent were illiterate.

The sample does not differ greatly from the average population as regards marital status. Eighty-seven and six tenths percent of the men had been married, as compared with 90.4 percent of all men 70 to 74 years of age in New York State. Eighty-three and eight-tenths percent of the women had been married, as compared with 88.7 percent for the same age and state. Of all the married persons in the sample, 17 percent never had children. This is not far from the probable figure for the whole population. Most interesting is the fact that the average number of children ever born per married person was about 3.0 for the Tompkins County people and about 4.3 for the New York City residents. If the sample is representative, it would seem that even in that older generation the falling birth rate of the American-born of the northeast had reached a figure not far above replacement needs even in the farming and working classes. It is possible, however, that dependent aged may have fewer children than other aged of the same class, while being "normal" as regards marriage and percent of absolute childlessness. The number of present living children of these people is 1.9 per person in the Upstate culture, 1.8 in the Mixed; their living grandchildren number 3.6 per person Upstate and 3.3 per person in the Mixed group. Evidently both groups are non-replacing; the mixed group comes from a population having higher birth rates and also higher

death rates. Thus the ratio of the living children to children ever born is 71 percent for the Upstate and 56 percent for the Mixed.

Sixty percent of the old people live in their own homes, 15 percent in the home of a child, 18 percent with a relative other than children and 17 percent with non-relatives.

Health. Forty-eight percent of the subjects said that they were in excellent or good health; the remainder were fair, poor, or very poor. Only 36 percent of the Tompkins County people were in excellent or good health, as compared with 58 percent of the New York City people. This was not due to age since a closely similar result was found when the comparison was limited to the persons of 70 to 74 years of age. From other evidence it appeared that the Upstate people were selected for old-age relief more because of unemployability due to physical handicaps and less because of mere unemployment. In the list of ailments afflicting the people from Tompkins County, heart trouble is at the top of the list with 35 cases; then follows arteriosclerosis with 13 cases and stomach trouble with 11 cases. As regards physical defects, serious internal weakness is the most frequent, then crippled legs or feet, then defective vision, then defective hearing. Health was more influential upon the happiness of men than upon that of women. The correlation between the composite index of health and the adjustment score was +.43 for the men and +.29 for the women ($P.E. \pm .04$ in both cases).

Education. The happiest people had on the average 9.1 years of schooling, the unhappiest 7.1. The difference is 15 times the probable error, and it is a difference which occurred consistently in the same direction with all four groups: upstate men, upstate women, mixed men and mixed women. On the whole, the Upstate people showed considerably higher education levels than the Mixed group; only 2.8 percent of foreign-born women had had more than an elementary school education. In view of the limited educational background of the whole sample, efforts to enrich their lives must provide hobbies and interests which are not all intellectual, and must include activities for some persons involving no reading at all.

Family relationships. Because these people are living on old-age allowances, one must not infer that they are estranged from their families or abandoned by their children. Fifteen percent of the entire sample live with their children and many others are helped by them. Some children pay their parents' rent or contribute as much as they are able to their support, while the state pays the balance necessary for their maintenance. Many subjects explained with desperate earnestness that if it were not for the depression, their children could care for them as before and they would not need a pension. It was found that the Unhappiest group was more apt to have large families (over three children) than the others. Statistics show there is little or no relation between the adjustment score and the fact of

whether one is married or single, whether the spouse is living or dead, or whether one is childless or had children. There is no correlation between adjustment and the frequency with which they see their children. The mixed group see their children and grandchildren more frequently while the upstaters more often express the wish that they could see their children and grandchildren more frequently. This is doubtless due to the greater geographical remoteness of the upstate group from their relatives. Among the Tompkins County people there were 37 who were living with a child, and only 16 of these said that they came to live with the child because they wanted to. "I couldn't afford to pay rent; it was the only thing to do," "Had no other place to go," "More convenient because they keep the fires burning here," were typical explanations. One said, "They told me I got to live with her." In the New York City group, every one of the 11 persons who lived with a child said that he did so from choice. A very significant question was, "Do you think it is best for an old person to live with his children or do you think he would be happier living alone?" Eighty percent of the Tompkins County people thought it was best to live alone; only 51 percent of the New York City people thought so. "I've taken more comfort since I lived in this shack alone, nobody dictates to me." "Keep away from the children, they snap you up and they act like I was a disgrace to them." "All married couples should be by themselves and not have old people interfere." "Do as you've a mind to, even though it is awful lonesome, and you have your own things, and do as you've a mind to with them." Such were the comments with which upstate people expressed this attitude.

Upstaters show also strikingly more independence in their attitude toward relatives. They were asked, "Do your relatives try to help you manage your affairs?" Only 20 percent of the Upstate group answered "yes"; half the Mixed group did so. In the Upstate culture this help or interference was correlated with unhappiness, while among the Mixed group it was uncorrelated. The subjects were then asked, "Are you glad to have their help, or would you rather do it yourself?" Only 20 percent of the Upstaters were glad to have the help of relatives, as against 55 percent of the Mixed group and 72 percent of the therein contained New York City group.

Social Relationships Outside the Family. Only 48 percent of the whole sample have friends who come in to see them. The remainder declare themselves to be totally or almost entirely without friends. Only 28 percent of the entire sample report that they "know many of the young people in the neighborhood." Only 13 percent report that the young people they know come to see them "often" or "sometimes" for advice. The subjects were asked, "Do you think that the young people of today like old people and enjoy being with them as much as young people did when you were young?" Seventy percent of the group answered with an unqualified "no." "Young

people look at me sometimes as though they thought because I have lived a while, I ought to die," said one. "The young people push the elderly people away, they ain't got no use for them. It is like the mercantile end, you get pushed right out."

Among women there is a significant positive correlation between having young friends and believing that the young people of today like old people as much as was true in the past. Among men there is no correlation between this actual social relationship and this belief, thus seeming to suggest that the men are more objective and philosophical in arriving at their belief, or that they care less for the relationships. A composite score of "sociality" or extent of social contacts was made by combining a number of questions. This score shows a correlation with the adjustment score of $+.35 \pm .04$ for the women and only $+.14 \pm .05$ for the men, indicating that happiness is much more closely related to sociality in the case of women, as it was much more closely related to physical health in the case of men.

Religion. Sixty-eight percent of the entire sample were Protestant and 25 percent Roman Catholics. There is no significant linear correlation of the adjustment score with a composite score for religious tendency, nor with present church going. The middle third of persons on the adjustment scale attend church 48 percent, the Happiest 37 percent and the Unhappiest 27 percent. Physical inability is the reason for not attending church in 52 percent of the cases of non-attendance, while loss of interest or belief accounts for 39 percent. When the subjects were asked, "What do you think is the greatest comfort to you in your old age?" religion constituted 20 percent of the total items given in reply.

Employment and Work. Only 10 percent of the entire sample have some kind of a job at the present time, the figure being the same for the men and the women, and only a little higher for the Upstate than for the Mixed group. There is a moderate correlation between work and happiness. Those who still work tend furnaces, lawns and gardens, paint barns, do a few days of house work, keep roomers or boarders, do odd jobs at sewing, nursing, or laundry work. Seventy percent of the men and 39 percent of the women have worked after they were 70 years of age. These figures are somewhat higher for the Upstate group. The reason for stopping work in the case of the men was illness or physical disability in 45 percent of the cases; in 39 percent it was being laid off or failure in one's own business. The subjects were asked, "Did you like to work?" The question clearly called for their attitude in the past when they were working. The answer was, "Yes, very much," with 78 percent of the Happiest and 51 percent of the Unhappiest. About 85 percent of the men and Upstate women said that they would like to work now, but only 55 percent of the women of the Mixed group, and only 43 percent of the Unhappy women of the Mixed group would like to do so. Here the Yankee cultural attitude toward working for a living coin-

cides with the general masculine attitude, while the women of European or metropolitan culture deviate markedly. The actual comments from the people are more revealing than these statistics. "I wish to the Lord I could work now, I would not give a cent for the old-age pension then." "Were you generally happier when you were busy all day?" "Sure, chaw tobacco and whistle. If I could go to work now I would be in heaven." In a minority of the men, however, there is a wish that they might be active again in their former occupation, but at the same time an aversion to anything that seems an inferior substitute for that work. The subjects were asked: "When you first found it hard to keep up with your job, would you have been interested in learning some new kind of work that would not have been so hard and that you could do now?" This idea appealed positively to about 43 percent of the men and 24 percent of the women; to 52 percent of the Upstate people and only 15 percent of the Mixed group. One former farmer said, "No, farming was my life, I never wanted anything else."

Recreation and General Emotional Attitude. "Work" was interpreted to mean paid employment. When the people were asked, "Do you find that you have plenty to do every day?" we find other interesting group differences. Happy women of both Upstate and Mixed groups were close together with an average of 92 percent of "yes" answers; Happy men and Unhappy women of both cultures had an intermediate position with about 67 percent of "yes" answers; while the Unhappy men of both culture groups stood lowest with about 35 percent of positive answers. Among the Upstate unhappy men only 22 percent said that they had plenty to do every day. Happiness was more highly correlated with this "busyness" among the Upstate than in the Mixed group. The adjustment score was correlated not only with the existence of hobbies at the present time (this, in fact, was a small item in the score itself), but also with the fact of having had hobbies in the past. The most frequently reported hobbies among all the men were, in order: gardening, cards, baseball; then reading, fishing, and participation in music. The most frequently mentioned hobbies among all the women were sewing and embroidering, gardening, reading, cards, housekeeping; then somewhat less frequently, church work and listening to music. The principal reason for giving up hobbies once enjoyed was poor health. The next most frequent reason was expensiveness, while old age *per se* was only third in order.

Twenty-six percent of all the people say that they enjoy life now "very much," thirty percent "considerably," the remaining 44 percent "somewhat," "slightly" or "not at all." When asked what was the happiest period of their lives, about half the subjects say the period from 25 to 45 years of age; and only one-third mention the younger years. In retrospect these people looked back upon their family and personal relationships much more frequently than upon youthful freedom from responsibility or upon

their interest in their work as the causes of happiness. The men mentioned work more frequently than did the women, but family and personal relationships less frequently. With women, these latter relationships were by far the greatest sources of happiness.

"Would you like to live your life over again?" The entire group divided 50-50 on the answer to this question. The Happy group and also the men were somewhat more likely to say "yes," but the differences were not outstanding. Happiness may involve the wish to repeat life, or it may mean a feeling of satisfaction in completion. "Yes, but I would live it in a different way." "Some things I would like to do over again." "I do not care for another life, even when I am dead; too much trouble."

Family relationships and friends are the most frequent group of items mentioned as "greatest comforts in old age." Financial worries and dependence are the greatest worries of old age, making up about half the whole group of items.

"If you had a chance to live your life over again, would you plan for your old age?" The subjects evidently understood this to mean financial planning. The Tompkins County group said "yes" in 88 percent of the cases, the Buffalo and Albany Protestants in 77 percent, all Catholics and foreign stock in 40 to 50 percent, New York City Catholic and foreign-stock in 31 percent, New York City native-born Protestant in 25 percent. Here, indeed, we see the cultural difference in the attitude toward private thrift. Among those who said "no" there were some illuminating comments. "Just let it take care of itself, 'taint no use to make plans, they wind up in nothing." "There is no use in planning, it is all in God's hands." "I don't see how anyone could when it took all you could earn to keep agoing."

Conclusions. (1) Aged people are not homogeneous any more than are people at any other age level. (2) Good health and freedom from physical disability are important factors in the happiness of aged people; so also are pleasant relationships with friends and relatives. These things, however, are frequently beyond personal control. Hobbies and interesting activities often could be stimulated even where the other factors are little subject to control; and these activities are also positively correlated with happiness. (3) In the care of the aged economic security represents a great advance; but, it is not enough. The need is strongly indicated for case work and group work, promoting interesting activity. Dr. Lillian J. Martin has in California an Old-Age Center where she rehabilitates old people of both high and low economic status, through creating and reviving active interests according to the personality and abilities of the individual. This new kind of social case work should be carefully watched. It offers one of the most hopeful possibilities for going beyond mere security to a genuine enrichment of "the last of life for which the first was made."

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE DEFINING AND MEASURING OF GROUP ADJUSTMENT*

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SOCIAL behavior is a common, every-day phenomenon. It is about as easy for the social investigator to locate as is the common cold for the medical investigator. And yet how little is really known about it. One theory about the common cold is that it is caused by some filterable virus. The implication here is that laboratory tools are deficient. Medical investigators have a scheme of interpretation for this phenomenon which is based on the theoretical analysis of the subject matter. Their experimental data have significance to the extent that they fit into a comprehensive scheme of interpretation of disease. There are many laboratories for the experimental study of the common cold; there are few laboratories for the experimental study of social behavior set up and directed from the point of view of sociology.

Experimental approach in sociology is a recent arrival in the family of sociological methods. It is not yet a well recognized procedure. It is probably fair to say that this new method is only beginning to develop a discipline founded on the experimental study of social behavior of the individual in the group. The ultimate purpose of such study is presumably to establish an objective basis for the prediction and control of social behavior. Since group work deals with the adjustment of individuals through group association, it is obvious that it must look to this new discipline as a theoretical basis for practice. This paper is written from the point of view of a group worker who has been unable to find an adequate theoretical basis for practice in past sociological studies and who for some ten years has been in the role of a pseudo-experimental sociologist trying to evolve a satisfactory concept of group adjustment and the means for its measurement. The laboratory has been a summer camp. The area of investigation has been limited to primary groups. The study began in 1924 and the field investigation ended in 1933.

The first problem to be met was the formulation of some scheme of interpretation of social behavior based on the theoretical analysis of the subject matter, namely, group life. Such an analysis must properly precede the development of techniques for gathering data, if the data are to have any scientific significance.

One scheme of interpretation of social behavior employed for purposes of sociological investigation has been that social behavior is primarily the resultant of what is termed the psychological adjustment of the individual.

* Read at the Annual Meeting, Chicago: December 29, 1936.

By this is meant certain properties supposedly possessed by the individual, certain traits or drives which presumably explained his behavior under any or all circumstances. The tools most commonly used in investigation are the rating and testing techniques. The measures of these supposed traits weighted in some way are intended to yield a score which is taken as an index of social adjustment. This may be a suitable approach for the interpretation of individual reactions, but has been unfruitful as the basis for interpreting social behavior.

Then followed the situational approach to the study of social behavior. The need for this was pointed out by W. I. Thomas in 1927. Both these approaches have failed in our opinion because of inadequate theoretical analysis of the subject matter of social behavior, namely, group life. The situational approach has also failed because of the inherent unpredictability of the social situation. Individual response and social stimulation are both involved in group life. But these are but end factors in group process symbolized by S-R, not the group process itself. It appeared to us that we had to begin our analysis by looking at group phenomena themselves, phenomena in the sense of "shadows" of reality. This brought us to the theoretical analysis of entities common to all primary groups and in reality to the theoretical definition of group and of group process.

We accepted the definition of the term group as recently phrased by Eubank:¹

Two or more individuals in a relationship of psychic-interaction, whose relationship with one another may be abstracted and distinguished from their relationship with all others so that they may be thought of as an entity.

The capacity of being thought of as an entity logically requires a point of reference. Thought of by Whom? Two alternatives are presented: the person who thinks of the group (relationship) may be an outside observer, or he may be an integral part of the group. For the outsider the behavior of members of the group is the only clue for considering a given aggregate as an entity. The content of behavior of group members is thus the only available criterion. But for the insider, the group is an immediate datum of his experience in the form of his feeling of a bond with other members, of consciousness of kind. What is consciousness of kind? Elaborating on Giddings' definition, Abel writes:²

Consciousness of kind in group life is awareness on the part of the members of the group of that which they have in common, of the bond that unites them, and of what differentiates them from other groups. It differs in strength not only between different types of groups, but also within the same group.

According to this theoretical analysis a primary group involves a relationship in which three necessary conditions must be satisfied: compresence,

¹ E. E. Eubank, *Concepts of Sociology*, p. 163.

² T. Abel, *Concept of Consciousness of Kind*, *Social Forces*, IX, October 1930, 8-9.

psychic interaction and bond. This means that a member of a group may be thought of in terms of his compresence with other members of the group, his participation in some overt or covert activity with other members and his bond with these members.

But what is meant by relationship? By relationship is meant that some object is in a position or status with reference to another or other objects. In our case it means two or more individuals. According to our analysis, relationship is reflected logically into: (1) physical position (compresence); (2) psychic position or status (bond), and (3) psychic interactions (overt and covert behavior). The third category here needs very careful consideration. We can't actually observe psychic interactions as such, but only objective behavioristic manifestations of them. Our scheme of interpretation here demands that we consider behavior in terms of flux or communication between the objects (persons) that have position or status with reference to each other. This implies a concept of "from" and "to." Behavior must be visualized as a *from* and *to* form of communication, between distant persons, *not as an outcropping of traits*. What we term social process consists of the psychic interactions between persons with physical as well as psychological distance relationship. These psychic interactions cannot actually be seen by the outsider. Only some of the objective manifestations of them are visible and bear testimony to their existence, and therefore of the existence of the entity group and the entity group process. The outsider must be content for the present to see just shadows, in other words, certain phenomena from which the existence of group and group process is logically inferred.

But in this day and generation, we must also deal with the term "adjustment." We said that the group worker was interested in the adjustment of the individual through group association. We must now seek our definition of social or group adjustment within the framework of our analysis of group life. The word adjustment is another one of the common every day things we meet on every psychological and sociological street. Hence we find it in the parlance of the social worker. In mechanics it means a "rearrangement of parts in order to get a better functioning of the whole." This implies time, space and norm or standard. Let's take time first. At some time, the rearrangement is completed. Whatever it is that is rearranged may stay that way, or again need further rearrangement. *But at some moment* there is "better" arrangement. And as for norm or standard, at some time, namely, when the rearrangement has been effected, there is some degree of qualitative conformity to what is considered "best."

We are not sure that we know what the psychologists or sociologists mean by adjustment. The psychologists seem to mean some degree of conformity to norms of good or desirable or satisfactory relationship between the different parts of the inner man and society taken either from the point of view of an individual or from the point of view of others. The sociologists seem to have somewhat the same idea, but sometimes they discard the norm

and simply say a group is adjusted if it survives. And what the social workers mean has been inherited largely from the psychologists and the sociologists to the extent at least that it includes conformity to socially desirable and/or socially acceptable norms.

More recently case workers have been leaning toward psychoanalytic concepts and have been considering adjustment more from the point of view of the individual's satisfactions and less from the point of view of societal norms. There is a growing tendency even to discard the term adjustment and to get away from the social norm. But we still find the concept of norm present, for in considering the individual's satisfactions they raise questions like these: "Has the individual a satisfactory play outlet?" "Has he a satisfactory work relationship?" etc. Do they think he should have these relationships? And where do the satisfactions of other persons in the play outlets, work outlets, love outlets, etc. enter in? To us this line of reasoning is not a step toward eliminating the concept of adjustment, but rather a step toward analyzing it and defining it.

The difficulties of measuring adjustment under these circumstances is that the norm is different or may be different in all corners of the globe.

Now if we are going to measure something scientifically we cannot use a rubber measuring stick. From the standpoint of experimental sociology adjustment of the individual to a group, whatever adjustment is, must involve the same basic factors and units of measurement whether or not the group itself be adjudged socially desirable. A priori logic seems to demand that the means of ascertaining whether a given individual is adjusted to a criminal gang and the techniques of measuring the degree of his adjustment must be identical with the means and techniques of measuring his adjustment to a socially desirable group.

What we have just said implies a time factor. Adjustment is specific in time. We believe it is specific to one group. But we have been begging the question. What is group adjustment? Our previous analysis of group life leads us to the conclusion that adjustment is a psychic entity, a product born of compresence, psychic interaction and bond. It is the feeling of mutually satisfactory relationship between an individual and the other members of a group at a given time. It is a balance of feeling, moreover, on the part of an individual and on the part of other members of the group. But again we can only measure the behavior manifestations of this balance of feeling or adjustment. If this balance of feeling, this group adjustment is to be measured with respect to a given individual in a given group at a given time, it must be measured within the bounds of our analysis of group life, namely, within the bounds of the measurement of objective manifestations of compresence, interaction and bond. Adjustment in these terms and for the social worker's purpose is a sort of objective still picture at any moment of the shadows cast by the dynamic entity, psychic interaction. It is a composite picture made up by superimposing the objective evidences of the

group's acceptance of the individual over the objective evidences of the individual's acceptance of the group.

If there is persistence of this balance between group acceptance and individual acceptance, there is relative stability of adjustment. But group adjustment is no property of one individual. He doesn't carry it around like the alleged trait. He may lose it at the drop of a hat or the expression of a word. He may even lose it while absent from the group!

It was on the framework of these concepts that Wawokiye Camp was developed as a laboratory. Time does not permit us to describe the camp here. This has been done in a brief pamphlet³ published in 1930. The detailed account of the experiment from 1930 to 1933 is now in manuscript form. Suffice it to say that in the period covered by the material now prepared for publication there were eight camp sessions of four to five weeks' duration in which thirty boys were in camp. In half of the periods the boys were of junior age (10 to 13 years). Campers in the other periods were of an average age of 14 years. In addition to the director, the camp was staffed with twelve persons, four of whom gave their full attention to research aspects, and were assisted by all other members.

In the brief time at our disposal we can describe procedure and results in barest outline. In order to get at the very inside of the group process we first considered means for locating and establishing intensity of bond. If we assume that an individual were faced with no limitations in regard to associating with whom he pleased, his desire for compresence with certain individuals as overtly verbally expressed in the form of a preference would be representative of his sum total response toward another or other individuals—in other words, would be an expression of the bond he feels with such persons. And under ideal conditions the objective fact of compresence with these persons would substantiate the verbal preference and serve as an index of the individual's preferences. But under our scheme of interpretation, actual compresence would not only be a matter of our individual's preference for association with others, but also the preferences of the others for contacts with that individual. The bond that the others in such a hypothetical group would feel toward the given individual would be the extent to which they prefer him as a desirable member of the group. Their preferences would define his position or status in the scale of preferences—his status in the group. The group status of the individual is thus measured by the sum total of preferential responses of the members of the group toward the individual at a given time. We have termed this measure the *index of group status*. The group status which is measured by this index is relative with regard to the group. It is not an endowment of a given individual. An individual with a high group status in one group may have a low group status in another group at the same time.

³ W. I. Newstetter, and M. J. Feldstein, *Wawokiye Camp, a Research Project in Group Work*. Western Reserve University, 1930.

Our previous analysis led us to the statement that group adjustment is a psychic entity, a balance of feeling of mutually satisfactory relationships between an individual and the other members of a group at a given time. Balance in the sense that both the individual and the other members of the group are jointly and simultaneously concerned. The group status of the individual as measured by the index of group status (the sum total of the overt preferential responses of the members of a group toward a given individual) is therefore a measure of the psychic entity group adjustment. The index measures the acceptance of the individual by the group at a given time. This we have termed *group acceptance*. It does not measure the individual's acceptance of the group.

We have devised a technique for making the estimate of group acceptance which we call the Personal Preference Technique. It consists of a series of short questionnaires or schedule-interviews. It was administered in all camp periods at weekly intervals, each period yielding four records of preferences. The reliability of the technique was established. The index of group status was derived from the scores obtained by use of the personal preference technique, and was found to have an average reliability coefficient of .95, when the index was based on four successive weekly interviews. These results were substantiated by the study of two adult groups: one, a college fraternity, the other, a college sorority.

A second measure was developed from the preference scores. Assuming that a group in which the group status of each member is stable to be a stable group, the stability of the group (that is, of group status of members) was measured by the percentage of the average repetition of personal preference scores. The stability of a group was found to vary from time to time, and was different in different groups.

These measures of bond are "inside" measures, so to speak. The bond can also be measured by outsiders by means of the rating technique. By using a series of ratings on group status by six "competent judges" made on a seven-point scale at weekly intervals we obtained scores of high reliability (.986).

We found, however, that while these two measures of group status were closely related (correlation coefficient .75), half the factors that determine the index of group status were attributable to factors different from those estimated by counsellors in their ratings.

We said above that compresence was a second basic entity of group, and that the objective fact of compresence might also serve as an index of the individual's preferences for group contacts. Only in hypothetical analysis could these entirely coincide, for one cannot always be compresent with those he might prefer. Only when there is complete mutual preference and no limitation of space, equipment, nature of the activity, etc., could the hypothetical obtain in reality. Bond and compresence, we have said, are but two aspects of our subject matter—group life. In order to gather data

on compresence a technique of direct observation of activity groupings was perfected under certain controlled conditions. Records were made at definite time intervals of what each person was doing and with whom he was doing it. The reliability coefficient was found to be .933, and the reliability coefficient of the sample of approximately 600 observations for each individual for each camp period was .84.

A method was developed for tabulating the compresence observations so that the frequency of compresence of any two individuals in any sized group could be determined. In a total group of thirty boys this involved 435 possible compresence combinations. In order to compare these actual compresence records of two individuals with the verbally expressed personal preferences for compresence we derived what we called the *personal preference index*. This was defined as the sum of (1) the number of selections by individual A for individual B; (2) the number of B's selections of A; and (3) twice the number of their mutual selections. The total number of times a given boy was observed in any group with another boy was correlated with the personal preference index between these same boys. The mean correlation coefficient for seven camp periods was .727. With a knowledge of personal preference about 50% of the sub-groupings can be predicted.

In regard to interactions, we said our scheme of interpretation of group life impelled us to view behavior in terms of flux or communication between the persons that have status as well as physical proximity with reference to each other. Behavior was visualized as a *from* and *to* form of communication. Again time will not permit us to describe the many steps in our experimental procedure. Early in our study we gave up the idea of trying to record all behavior. Since the significance of data is conferred by a priori logic and not by statistical or other treatment we sought for an interpretation of *from* and *to* behavior consistent with our ideas of group acceptance and group status. This led us to the experimental construction of a *scale of cordiality and conflict*. Behaviors recorded and interpreted as *from* and *to* in these terms would most presumably be related to group status. Our results may be summed up as follows: we found low correlation between cordiality shown by an individual to the others and the group status of that individual. We found that the correlation between cordiality received by an individual from others and his group status was uniformly high. It appeared that an individual's group status was largely revealed by cordial behavior received from others, and was not largely determined (except in extremes of the range) by his behavior toward others in terms of cordiality and conflict. *This is the most devastating evidence to date that interactions (social behavior) are not the results of measurable "traits."* They are evidence of the pragmatic summing of all pertinent behaviors by those in a real position to know a good deal more about them than social science investigators—the participants in group life. Perhaps the way to study an individual is not to study his behavior but the behavior of others toward him.

RECORD KEEPING IN GROUP WORK A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIOLOGY*

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IT IS DIFFICULT to discover an adequate method of describing a group because of its ever changing quality. It is a collection of spontaneous interactions occurring simultaneously in many directions. It has depth as well as length and breadth and by consecutive observations it is possible to discern distinct patterns and definite direction toward conscious or unconscious goals. In spite of the fact that description of this entity through categorizing and conceptualization endangers the portrayal of the dynamic quality of the group, which is its essential characteristic, it is necessary for real understanding of the group process.

The group worker must break through the social organism with which he is working to understand both the individuals who make up the group and the process which they create. To psychology he looks for concepts and interpretations relating to the individual and to sociology for those pertaining to the group. The group worker must fuse the observations of the sociologist with the knowledge of the psychologist to understand the needs of groups and of the individuals in them. The group worker is at present in the no-man's land between the two fields, for often the psychologist who endeavors to know the whole individual and all his relationships on a conscious and unconscious level fails to conceive this knowledge in terms of the stream of culture of which it is a part; and on the other hand the sociologist may observe part of the individual in the relationship apparent only at the time and fail to give consideration to the other parts of the individual not then apparent. If the group worker's only concern were the group at the time of meeting, he could limit his attention to behavior as exhibited in groups, but he is also concerned with the individual *as a person* and must therefore attempt to understand the individual as a whole as well as the part of him seen in group relationship. This dual need of the group worker makes it necessary for him to experiment in recording with the use of concepts developed by both psychology and sociology.

The records to which reference in this paper are made are those with which the writer has had occasion to be familiar, the majority of which are written about groups in agencies in Cleveland which have a co-operative relationship with the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University. A few, however, are those from other cities in which group workers have been interested in experimenting in record keeping. All have

* Read at the Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 29, 1936.

been kept according to the outline which has been developed over a period of ten years of experimentation in the group-work division of the School.

The group record attempts to set down as accurately as possible as much of the group process as the recorder can observe, feel and recognize, supplementing this recording with the knowledge of individuals which he has gained in additional outside contacts. The value of the record is of course very dependent upon the recorder's knowledge of symptoms of behavior, and recognition of social concepts, and upon his keen intuition. These records are kept for the purpose of improving the effectiveness of the professional worker in his relationship to the group process, and are not kept for purposes of research. Whatever value they contain for the scientist is and must remain a by-product to the central purpose of the record. The scientist will be confronted with much material of a subjective nature, the fact that records in most cases are made by workers who are participating in the process themselves and recording the event after it is over, makes direct recording almost impossible. Even when direct recording is done the result must be considered in the light of the worker—what he had eyes to see, feelings to feel and knowledge to understand.

In discussing this subject of the criteria for the group record in a paper for the National Conference of Social Work,¹ the writer set up an outline of the minimum information necessary for good group work which would describe what was done, how it was done and why it was done. This outline includes:

1. History, including how group was formed.
2. Roster sheet, including "raw statistics" from registration card: Name, address, telephone, native tongue, age, sex, race, occupation of both parents, school or occupation of member, religion, marital status, date enrolled.
3. Attendance record: (Individual and group record combined). Totals showing: number present, number of visitors, new members added, old members dropped and enrollment to date.
4. Group meetings: a. What did the group do? b. Of what significance was the meeting for individuals? c. For the group as a whole? d. What symptoms of individual problems did you see? e. What were the group problems? f. How do these problems affect the future plans of the group? g. Plan of procedure, (1) of leader, and (2) of group members.
5. Individual contacts: Record of casual contacts, planned interviews and home visits; other information available within an agency; Social Service Exchange clearance.

This outline is suggested for those group workers who are pressed for time

¹ "Methods of Record Keeping of Group Behavior and Individual Contacts," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1936.*

because of heavy loads and inadequate stenographic services. In considering a more adequate record the writer proposes certain amplification and addition to sections four and five. Under the group meeting, it is important that the recorder indicate whether all the members participated, if they divided into subgroups, and how this division compared with the one of the previous week. If the membership in the subgroups shifted what were the apparent causes? We are also interested to know how the professional leader and the indigenous leader used the subgroups. We would expect the record to show any evidence of the influence of the purpose of the club upon its corporate actions, something of the solidarity of the group and its source. Where, when and about what, conflicts arose and how the leadership in the group functioned. Under division five, the individual record, we would be particularly interested to know: (1) the behavior characteristics which contributed to development or blocking of group activity, who showed initiative; and (2) the behavior characteristics indicative of individual problems, such as over-enthusiasm, consistent boredom, more than ordinary hostility, destructiveness or passivity, or always being very good, who had to dominate, pout or sulk, always had a pain—in other words, what use are the individuals making of the group; and lastly, we are interested to know (3) the significance of the individual's behavior to the group—for instance, against whom was the behavior directed—the leader, a particular subgroup, or just everyone in general? What was the reaction of other members of the group? How did the group meet the problems presented by its members?

It is the purpose of this paper to study this outline and the records based on it as thoroughly as possible to determine what, if any, contribution they may have for sociological inquiries.

Keeping in mind the fact of bias and the purpose of the record for service and not for research, let us examine the characteristics of a group outline from the point of view of what a sociologist would expect to find. First of all, however, we must face the fact that in the development of concepts, sociologists have followed a very individualistic trend causing much confusion in terminology and many sets of combinations of concepts with no entirely accepted system in the field. This makes it necessary for us to treat this subject with the contributor as well as his contribution in mind.

What sociological concepts are implied in this outline for group records? The first item is that of history, including how the group was formed. This implies that a group is relatively permanent, that its life continues from year to year regardless of the dropping out of individual members. The attendance record gives statistical evidence of its continuity and stability. Duration is a basis of classification used by Professor Cooley.² A discussion of how the group was formed includes a description of the nature of the

² Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, chap. III.

bond which holds the group together. Some groups are formed because the members are conscious of a bond and want to strengthen it by organization. Eubank³ further differentiates this upon the basis of predetermination, dividing the groups into spontaneous groups and predetermined groups. The majority of these records indicates that the groups are "natural"⁴ and that their reason for organizing a group or club is because they enjoy being together. Study of the composition of the group (roster sheet) indicates likeness⁵ or bond, on the basis of age, sex, nationality or race; common interests⁶ such as like occupation, religion, or education; and lastly consciousness of kind, a concept familiar to all sociologists.

In the description of the group meetings is found the group in action which makes possible a study of the whole problem of interaction within groups and between groups. The records of individuals contribute to the understanding of the group process when bringing psychological interpretation of the behavior of individuals in groups into the situation which is also being studied from a sociological point of view.

The group worker finds himself working with units which might be considered pocket editions of society. He is making records which describe actual situations which are typical of society as a whole. Sociology has developed a large number of concepts to describe these situations. There are in these records, however, certain situations for which new thought and synthesis of old concepts are needed for adequate description. Further examination of this material in light of sociological concepts will contribute to the purpose of this paper of illustrating their contribution to sociology.

In the outline for the group record which we have discussed will be found under the heading, "Observation of the Group Process," description of typical social situations. Within these situations are the potential opportunities for the whole gamut of human interaction. The concepts of these interactions have been summarized and systematized by Dr. Eubank⁷ who divides societary action into *opposition* and *accommodation*, further distinguishing kinds of opposition as those of *conflict* and of *competition*, and kinds of accommodation as those of *concurrence*, *combination* and *fusion*. He divides *adjustment* to either interaction (opposition or accommodation) into five types—*elimination*, *subjugation*, *compromise*, *alliance*, and *integration*. From these develop three forms of collective action: *complete disassociation*, *co-operation* and *corporate action*.

According to this system, human interaction is seen in terms of opposition and accommodation with their consequent interactions throughout a proc-

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁴ In the use which Ross gives the term in his classification in the *Foundations of Society*.

⁵ A basis for classification according to Ross.

⁶ A basis of classification according to Ross, but also classified by Park as "Conflict Groups."

⁷ Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, New York, 1932.

ess which eventually leads to dispersion or some form of unified action. When we examine the outline of the record in the light of these concepts, what do we see? Under the question, "What did the group do?", we shall find objective description of what the group meeting was about and what kind of activity was carried on—in other words, societary action.

Examples of opposition and accommodation fill the pages of record after record. Conflicts of personality, struggle for power, clash of interests, competition in achievement, desire for prestige and other forms of ego expression are described by the group worker under either the caption "participation of members" or "indications of conflict." All of these must be resolved in some form of accommodation. Since a group seldom dies, records of complete and final disassociation are comparatively rare. Open conflict, however, may exist in a group over quite a period of time because of the inability of members to find a basis for co-operative action. In the struggle to find this basis will be recorded examples of subjugation, compromise, and alliance. Records reveal the transitory and shifting qualities of these adjustments as the group seeks to come to some form of co-operative action. Viewing the group process from the records of group work, one is impressed with the preponderance of group action on the co-operative basis. Corporate action based on integration is very rare and almost as negligible in frequency as disassociation.

Thus we see that this outline makes it possible for the group worker to describe the process of the group meeting in such a way that the various kinds of accommodations to conflict or competition may be recognized. Records reveal members or groups of them who have been dropped (elimination), the recalcitrant forced through threats or even physical powers into line (subjugation), log-rolling of the most primitive kind which makes a bargain possible (compromise), different subgroups with different goals which may agree on the same idea or project to attain different ends (alliance), or the ideal toward which most group work aims, but seldom achieves, namely, a situation in which a problem, thoroughly discussed, is understood and eventuates in a unanimous decision for action (integration). Following the record, the results of these adjustments may be seen in the individual or group which "went home mad" (disassociation); in action resulting from a majority vote (co-operation), or in the achievement of corporate action.

Let us now turn to an actual record and with the group record outline and this set of concepts in mind, examine the material presented:

Within the Green Diamond Club a struggle had been going on for weeks between Johnny the indigenous leader and Danny who challenged his "right to boss him around." All the other members of the club were followers of Johnny. Dan's suggestions were ignored and his antics failed to attract attention. The only source of satisfaction he gained was to be elected presi-

dent but it was an empty honor, for all power rested with Johnny. Dan brought new members to the club, one and then another and then three at a time;—Danny's following was as large as Johnny's.

11-22-35

The next piece of business was to vote on all the new members, Louis, Lefty and Eddie. They left the room and Dan called for votes. The three boys were accepted unanimously, there having been no criticism of them when the opportunity for it had been offered.

The failure of the members of the group to oppose Dan's friends was probably due to their lack of experience in groups and their inability to foresee the opposition which Dan with a following equal in size to Johnny's could offer. The new members were met with silent hostility until a game proposed by the worker gave opportunity for physical expression.

In the game, after the second number was called, Dan and Johnny ran out against each other. Johnny with his head in a big drive for speed. He ran Dan in the stomach and Dan was doubled up on the floor for a couple of minutes with his wind knocked out. As soon as he could be put on his hat and coat and said he was leaving The game started again but Johnny refused to play . . . very soon Dan got into the spirit of the game but Bobbie, Johnny's greatest admirer, refused to play. Pretty soon Johnny got up and said he was going.

12-6-35

Dan came into the office and hesitated before worker for several minutes looking very sad. Finally he said, "Miss S. I hate to tell you this but the club is breaking up There isn't any more Green Diamonds, not for me!" . . . Dan said that the only reason he had come to club today was to get his dues back Johnny paid out the money and then said, "All right. Dismissed."

Worker said that she would like to know why this was happening. Johnny replied that Dan and his friends didn't want to be in the club any longer and they didn't want them and that was all.

Here we have opposition which started as competition—for power and prestige in the group, and finally developed into open conflict. The accommodation was concurrence by use of the adjustment of elimination which resulted in partial disassociation. This was accomplished by the corporate action of part of the group, which, fused by the leader, became sufficiently integrated to carry out the movement against the rest. The result was a greater solidarity on the part of the remaining sector, but practically disassociation for the expelled members. (They started another club—the Double Diamonds—but Danny's leadership has not proved sufficiently strong to unify the group.)

The record of the Happy Homemakers Club describes a group of about thirty young women employed in house work who have varied interests and uses for their club. All of the members were not interested in basketball, social dancing or the discussion of working conditions of household employees. Both conflict and competition existed in the group, based on

interests and prestige of leaders and other factors. Some members wished to satisfy more than one interest in their club meeting. Some objected to being forced into activity they didn't really want. The accommodation used in this situation was combination and fusion. Subgroups were used, making possible both choice and variety. The subgroup for discussing working conditions formed a study group in which fusion took place to the extent that the efforts of the group were so integrated that corporate action in the form of a formulation of minimum standards of working conditions was possible. The whole club sponsored the project on the level of co-operative action but the action on the part of the subgroup was corporate.

The records reveal many situations in which the activity of a subgroup is permitted or tolerated by the whole group but the real interest is not shared and the only claim for classification as co-operative action is that of the use of the name of the group. Examples of this are found in groups where a subgroup has formed a baseball or basketball team but the real interest of the larger group is passive. The Merrymakers is a social club, the majority of whose members are only interested in good times, yet they give co-operative support both in finances and name to a group interested in social legislation and pay the expenses of some of their members to the state capital to testify at a hearing.

It is interesting to note in passing how this accommodation of conflicting interests affects the structure of the group itself. Grace Coyle,⁸ in discussing this point, says, "One of the most important interests of every organization is the concern for its own life. The success which it secures will be measured differently according to its purpose, but its standing and survival as a group is of necessity of great significance to any association . . . The formations of accepted group interests which grow up in the life of any association are further complicated by the existence of active but unavowed purposes in all or part of the group. Prestige and institutional motives are often of this sort. The discrete aims of a single individual, or the common purpose of a small clique, within the whole, often inject into the stream of the organization's life powerful but hidden influences which divert its flow."

Thus we see that, while we have found many ways in which the outline and this set of concepts fit into each other, there is much unused material in the record. Noteworthy among which are accounts of all the activity centered around the entrance of the single individual in the group; indications of the function of leadership; evidences of the influence of purpose of the club and values and standards held by members for the club; to say nothing of the recordings on the behavior of the individual in the group. Possibilities of the analysis of records discussed to this point describe what is taking place at any one minute. That is, the use of these concepts gives

⁸ Grace L. Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups*, New York, 1930, pp. 48-50.

a snap-shot picture of the group but does not present a movie. It is true that these concepts have movement in their meaning but they do not seem to imply dynamic qualities which are seen in conjunction with the consideration of *How* the interaction took place—and *Why* it took place. The phenomena connected with the formation of groups are exceedingly difficult to describe because of the paucity of concepts for adequate description.

'The simplest structure (plurality pattern) which may be subsumed under sociological category is the individual, however paradoxical and essentially contradictory this may seem.' In other words, the solitary human being is after all a nexus of relationships: most of his humanness would disappear if they were suddenly wiped out . . . thus the term, 'monad,' is not a misnomer: the solitary person is really a mirror of the social order even when removed from it. It would be entirely possible to begin that part of the systematics of plurality patterns dealing with the group by first analyzing the monad and then following with the dyad, triad, tetrad, and so on . . .⁹

The group record offers the opportunity of studying these phenomena, with less accuracy, to be sure, than the microscope but nevertheless with something of the same advantage of seeing many things happening simultaneously. It is possible to watch a new member (the monad) come into the group, make many attempts to gain acceptance from first one person and then another, attach himself to a pair (dyad) or another single individual (monad) only to repulse and be repulsed and then make another attempt until he finally has found his place. During this process disruptions of some kind or another have occurred in the relationships of every member of the group to each other. Observations of these changes can be made if the recorder is sufficiently sensitive. There is nothing static about the structure of groups; they are as dynamic as the personalities of which they are composed. The structure of groups is the pattern of its social relations which, to quote Dr. MacIver, . . . "are simply those elements and functions of personality in each which are dependent on the elements and functions of personality in others. Society is therefore not relations but beings in their relationships. It follows that there is no social function which is outside the function of personalities. Society is in us, in each of us. . . ."¹⁰ The idea of social relationship as contrasted with the term group-interaction brings the discussion into the realm of a fourth dimension. It is this living quality of human beings carrying on a group life that the group worker seeks to catch for his record.

The group record then must not only register the activity and action of the group as a whole but also of the individuals within the group in such a manner that each individual stands out as a well-defined person in a moving, constantly changing, group. The humanness of the material avail-

⁹ Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, p. 142; cf. N. J. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, p. 129.

¹⁰ R. M. MacIver, *Community*, p. 72.

able in the group work record will be better understood if at this point we depart from the outline for the group and study the material on the individuals who are the actors in this drama, and see what the records show as to their motivation.

Why does Johnny have the need to dominate and control his companions?

What is the reason for Tom's being quarrelsome and always ready to fight?

What makes Johnny seem to delight in the misery he causes Dan and his followers?

How do you account for the recurrent moody depression of Paul?

Is the attitude of suspicion and dislike toward the new members caused by the fear of competition for power, of loss of a satisfactory "we feeling" already existing or what?

What is the explanation of the cruelty of the enforcement of the rules made by the group?

Group records at the present time are more valuable for their description of group behavior than for the interpretation of the individual. It is at this point that the records display considerable weakness: objective sociological phenomena seem to have greater significance to the recorders than the interpretation of them in terms of motivation of individual behavior. Thomas'¹¹ four wishes have been accepted by many as the basic explanation of the drives with which man is born, hence many situations are described as caused by the drive of the individual to satisfy one or all these needs. But why does one want security, response, recognition, and new experience? Do we not need more fundamental understanding? Here the fields of sociology and psychology meet and the group worker finds the path uncharted with a maze of social psychology and psycho-socio-correlations and with psychologists experimenting in the sociological field and sociologists "going" psycho-analytic and psychiatrists of this and that brand producing the one and only explanation of human behavior. The group worker, dealing every day with individuals and groups, finds himself experimenting with the use of the available explanations. The recording of these experiments is far from being satisfactory but it is indicative of trend and of the influence of the various schools of psychological thinking in the background from which the group worker draws.

The records do not give much evidence of the concept of the whole individual—that is, the acceptance of his bad side as well as of his good, his hate needs as well as his love needs. Records of individuals deal primarily with factual material and behavior symptoms rather than with causal material. However, the record changes as the group worker's knowledge of individuals increases and his capacity to feel is enlarged. The average record

¹¹ W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*.

at the present time does not follow the suggested outline of the observations of behavior of individuals in groups. Within the situations as described, however, the seeing person can find indications of the way the individual is using the group, his identification with other members of the group or with the professional worker, as he uses them for parent or for sibling substitute through whom to work out his hostilities and his need for affection.

Group records provide a view of the social situations of individuals in groups, upon which the most advanced thinking in these joint fields is needed for mutual help of both in the science and in the practice of human relations.

Thus far we have shown that the groups under consideration are typical of most of the major classifications of the larger groups making up society, and that from the records as described many of the characteristics have already been conceptualized. We have particularly discussed the sociological phenomena centering around the social process. This discussion might be continued seemingly endlessly, for, as was pointed out in the beginning, these groups offer in small compassable dimensions specimens of many forms of society in which may be studied on a smaller stage those same forces which shape the affairs of nations and continents. There is no question in the writer's mind as to the importance of the organized group for sociological study. The value of the material in the records only a scientist can estimate. To a group worker, however, it seems to contain material which would lend itself to fruitful analysis. For instance, we know that a group does not grow if it is too homogeneous, but just how much heterogeneity is important is unknown. More knowledge is needed in the realm of group acceptance. Is group acceptance ever achieved or is social adjustment a process and not an entity? Again conflict is a part of growth, but too much conflict produces disassociation. More experiments in this sphere would add valuable insight for the understanding of group situations. These records also ought to provide for the social psychologists material for study of behavior of individuals in groups and for the use they make of the group.

There is also much material which defies sociological description because of undeveloped concepts, making it necessary for the recorder either to leave it unanalyzed in a state that only the "initiated" would recognize or to use terms which lay him open to the accusation of "pure mysticism." It is at this point particularly that the group worker looks to the sociologist for scientific help. Further study of group-work records may develop new concepts which will be a valuable contribution not only to the science of sociology but also to the practice of group work.

THE GROUP IN TERMS OF PROPAGANDA

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IN ITS broader aspects, propaganda may be regarded as a form of social control, since its objective is the direction of group conduct through the manipulation of stimuli. As a consequence, it is a form of applied sociology. While it may frequently be practiced without formal regard to sociological principles, its relationship to this science is, and must be, intimate, for, if the principles of sociology are sound, they must be involved in any successful manipulation of group conduct, and, conversely, if the group can be directed without material regard to these principles, then they can have no foundation in reality.

To the propagandist, a group is a collection of individuals whom he wishes to influence, and its action is to be measured in terms of individual responses. Thus, a propagandist for a department store would measure his immediate success in terms of sales, which are individual transactions. While he may, and does, recognize in the group attributes that cannot be interpreted solely in terms of individual summation, the propagandist nevertheless regards the group as a collection of individuals and analyzes its characteristics by the conduct of the individuals who compose it. Thus, Edward L. Bernays, a successful propagandist, defines public (or group) opinion as "the aggregate result of individual opinions—now uniform, now conflicting—of the men and women who make up society or any group of society," and adds: "In order to understand public opinion, one must go back to the individual who makes up the group."¹

Students of society have regarded the group as something more than a collection of individuals in time and place. Thus, W. H. R. Rivers thought of a group in terms of organization² and Rexford G. Tugwell has suggested that "an association of people becomes a group only when a common action is willingly and co-operatively undertaken."³ In each case, the group is considered in terms of united action. In this respect, the two writers referred to adhere to the practices of most sociologists, who conceive of groups as rather formal organizations.

To the propagandist, the group is somewhat different. True, it is more than a mere number of people, but organization and co-operative action are not among its essential attributes. If one examines the practices of propa-

¹ Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, New York, 1929, p. 61.

² W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organization*, New York, 1924, p. 9.

³ Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Industrial Discipline*, New York, 1933, p. 14.

ganda, one will find that they are directed to collections of individuals who: 1, are susceptible to contact through a common medium or common media; 2, have a common attitude (or common attitudes); 3, have potential focal points of universal attention; and 4, interact (actually or potentially).

Consider these characteristics in terms of propaganda practices. Propaganda is carried on through the various media of communication—newspapers, magazines, the radio, billboards, window displays, sandwich men, etc. The group which the propaganda is intended to influence must of necessity be susceptible to contact through one or more of these media. In some cases, the audience of a particular medium may be regarded as a distinct group. One might speak, for example, of the readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* as a group distinct from the readers of *True Confessions*. Numerous periodicals in the trade, professional, and special interest fields appeal specifically to clearly-defined groups. *Ayer's Newspaper and Magazine Directory* lists more than 200 classes of people (groups) which are served by one or more specialized publications. (These classifications, it should be noted, do not include agricultural, collegiate, fraternal, and religious publications, which are classified separately in the *Directory*.) While there is a certain amount of cross-classifying in the *Directory*, the division of periodicals into classes on the basis of the special interests of their readers indicates the close relationship between media of communication and groups.

While the audience of a particular medium may often exist as a distinct group, the group in propaganda is not necessarily coextensive with this audience. Propaganda is concerned with collections of individuals only insofar as they are susceptible to influence, and, for the members of a group to be susceptible to the same stimulus, they must have some common residual attitude or attitudes. Thus, when a propagandist directs a stimulus through a particular medium, his intentions may be to reach the medium's audience as a whole or only a small part of it. Concretely, a cosmetic manufacturer who advertises lip stick in a daily paper intends to reach only the feminine readers of that periodical. In other words, the group toward which his propaganda is directed is defined not only by the audience of a particular medium, but also by an attitude or a set of attitudes in relation to cosmetics.

To carry this illustration a step further, any announcement of a drastic change in the uses of cosmetics would arrest the attention of every one in the group to which the manufacturer would direct his propaganda. There are, therefore, focal points of universal attention in the group as he conceives it. This attribute of a group may be a natural accompaniment to its common attitudes, but it is vital in any propaganda that is intended to create any rapid or wholesale changes in the customs of a group.

The interaction among members of the group, as defined here, may be indirect, but it nevertheless exists. Bernays calls attention to this interac-

tion in the following words: "The public and the press, or for that matter, the public and any force that modifies public opinion, interact. Action and interaction are continually going on between the forces projected out to the public and the public itself."⁴ The process can be described roughly as follows: A medium of communication projects an idéa or a fact to its audience. The audience reacts to this projection. But, the medium in turn adapts itself to the wishes of its audience. It must do this to a certain extent, if it is to be effective. In other words, the medium reacts to its audience.

Carry the process a step further. A part of a propaganda group becomes articulate or active to the extent that the medium through which the group is reached is influenced, i.e., reacts, and projects stimuli to its audience as a whole. These stimuli cause some reactions within the entire propaganda group, so that a part of the group has caused the rest of it to react through the influence of a medium of communication. As this process is continuous, interaction exists.⁵

A group as defined above is not necessarily determined by a formal medium of communication. The passengers on a street car, for example, can be considered as a group, according to this definition. They are susceptible to contact through common media (the conductor announcing transfer corners, the advertising placards above the windows); they have certain common attitudes conditioned by their being passengers (e.g., a preference under certain conditions for riding to walking); they have potential focal points of universal attention (e.g., the street car running into an automobile); and there is, as there is whenever any group of people are in proximity to one another, interaction.

It should be pointed out that a group need not necessarily be accessible through any single medium of communication. The group to which the cosmetics manufacturer directs his propaganda is so large and so diverse that it is doubtful if any single medium reaches all its members. Because of this condition, the manufacturer uses newspapers, women's magazines, the radio, window displays, and other media in distributing his propaganda. Since the audiences of the various media frequently overlap, much of this propaganda is repetitious, and the propaganda released through one medium may be intended to support that projected through another. Nevertheless, the use of more than one medium is essential, if the propagandist who wishes to influence an extensive group is to reach all its members.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵ This procedure is probably best observed in the field of fashion. A comparatively few women of wealth and social position attract the attention of fashion editors and the styles they introduce are brought to the attention of women in general and are imitated. But, these leaders of fashion, even when they act as pioneers in styles, will not ignore the existing basic conventions in fashion, but will rather be original in somewhat limited fields. While they may set the pace for the fashion world, they also permit the conventions of the public which imitates them to act as a restraining influence. For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Paul H. Nystrom, *Economics of Fashion*, New York, 1928.

As defined in terms of propaganda, a group is not necessarily a formal organization. Thus, when a tobacco manufacturer thinks of pipe smokers as a group susceptible to propaganda, he does not picture to himself a club or an association or even a number of self-conscious men whose common taste has given them a sense of cameraderie. Rather, he attempts to isolate pipe smokers in terms of their reading habits, tastes in amusements, etc., so that he may know through which media they can be reached. This does not mean that propagandists ignore the existence of formal groups. A city health department in campaigning for the general immunization of children against diphtheria would probably work very extensively through parent-teacher societies. But, the fact that there are formal groups does not deny the existence of others that, while informal, are none the less real.

A group can exist without its members being in physical proximity to one another. Many formal groups fall into this category. Every national professional society (e.g., the American Medical Association) is a propaganda group which can be reconciled to the four characteristics listed above. There are also informal groups in which physical proximity is absent. Women who use cosmetics and pipe smokers again furnish illustrative material. While it is true that some members of these groups may be in proximity to one another, the groups as such are territorially so extensive that the personal relationships among some of their members are incidental to the existence of the groups. Incidentally, there are groups in which there is little, if any, physical proximity among the members. The governors of the forty-eight states of the Union form a group, yet the members of this group are only rarely in physical proximity to one another.

The group as defined here is possible of almost infinite subdivision. Every person probably belongs to dozens of propaganda groups. As a consequence, groups are interrelated to such a degree that it is impossible to isolate one, as, for example, a chemist isolates oxygen for purposes of experimentation. This condition might appear to make the group as a propaganda phenomena so all-embracing that it includes nothing tangible or specific. As a matter of fact, however, the interrelation of groups is one of the major factors through which wholesale propaganda is made possible. To understand its significance, a brief description of the process of change in public opinion is necessary.

As a general rule, there are no clear-cut lines of demarcation between group alliances. The interests of two groups having the same member may be definitely antagonistic to each other. A man may be a manufacturer of woolens and a drinker of Scotch whiskey. As the former he is in favor of high tariffs, as the latter he is against them. In practice, every one finds himself in a condition similar to this, a condition that is portrayed in *The Mikado* in a scene in which a public official holding several positions is asked for advice on a certain line of conduct. In his multi-official person-

ality he gives advice—and lots of it—but it is all conflicting, because it is inspired by the different objectives of the groups with which he is identified.

Of necessity, the individual makes some adjustments among the conflicting objectives of the various groups which claim his loyalty. Take the case of a real estate owner whose children attend a public school. As a property owner, he is against higher taxes; as a parent, he is for more extensive educational opportunities, and, *ipso facto*, for higher taxes. He will probably compromise his conflicting positions by reconciling himself to things as they are. If, however, he is a member of a dominant group that is aggressively fighting taxes, or if, instead, he belongs to an equally active group that is sponsoring an elaborate educational program, he may take a position in favor of a tenet of one group that is in direct conflict to an objective of the other group.

In this case we have a member of a group at variance with it. What is the result? Nothing much, if he does not belong to a particularly forceful minority. If, however, he enjoys prestige, he may modify the group attitude. Or, if other members change their attitudes in sufficient numbers, the attitude of the group will in time change or cease to exist, for the group is, in its last analysis, a collection of individuals.

An analysis of any change in the attitude of the public as a whole is apt to show that the change started in a relatively small group from which it spread through the affiliations of its members with other groups. The idea of prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages started in America under rather inauspicious circumstances. The members of the group which gave the idea birth influenced other groups with which they were affiliated and in time the idea became so powerful that it resulted in an amendment to the Constitution. The process by which this amendment was discarded was practically the same.⁶

⁶ This description of change in public opinion ignores the existence of controversy as a causative factor, although it is held by some writers to be a determiner of public opinion. Thus, A. Lawrence Lowell says: "Public opinion may be formed in either of two ways. One of them is a gradual growth throughout the mass of the people, or the thinking part of them, of ideas that in the course of time come to direct thought and hence the march of affairs. . . . The other is by the consideration of controversial questions that require immediate decision." (*Public Opinion in War and Peace*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 87).

The importance which Lowell attributes to the consideration of controversial questions as determiners of opinions is probably due to a failure to evaluate properly the results of controversy on those whom it forces into action. By acting as a result of controversy, people do not thereby form opinions. Instead, the opinions they already have become crystallized. The prohibition issue in American history is a concrete example of popular reaction to controversy. Controversy undoubtedly added to the attention value of the issue, and much of the controversial material, i.e., arguments, statistical data, etc., probably affected some attitudes, but its effect was due more to its effect on the existing attitudes of the public than to its controversial nature. In other words, people were affected by the story of the drunkard who neglected his family not because the story was an element in a controversy, but because of their attitudes toward home life, children, and the responsibilities of fathers.

While every election is accompanied by controversy, it is doubtful whether elections ma-

On the basis of the foregoing, the following procedure by which group attitudes are changed suggests itself. The propagandist ascertains what other groups are represented in the membership of the group in question. He selects those other groups which are passively favorable or indifferent to his objective, and identifies this objective with their interests. If he is successful both in analyzing the intergroup relationships and in identifying his objective with the common-membership groups, he will automatically achieve his end. The process is essentially one of recognizing the multiplicity of the individual's group connections, the conflicting purposes of these groups, their influence on one another, and the structure of a group as a collection of individuals. If all the members of a group, through their membership in other groups, change their attitudes, the attitude of the original group is automatically changed. As a consequence, the propagandist's very loose concept of the group is pragmatically justified, since, by implication, it recognizes the close interrelation among groups which makes possible the deliberate control of public opinion.

terially change public opinion. Instead, they give that opinion tangible form. The group engaging in the voting has certain hazy opinions on which it can express itself through the medium of the ballot box. By so expressing itself, it defines those opinions; and so controversy may be said to be a factor in the formulation of opinion, even though, at best, it has only an incidental effect in its creation.

Persons and Positions

A.B. University of Western Ontario; M.A. Drew University, Madison, N. J.; graduate study at Columbia and New York Universities; work for Ph.D. at latter nearly completed; now completing third year as instructor in sociology at large eastern university; 28; married, no children; Protestant; Canadian.

M.A. in sociology, University of Pittsburgh; minors, social work, political science, psychology; undergraduate major, zoology; woman; single.

M.A. in sociology, University of Chicago, 1926; expect Ph.D. in August, 1937. Seven years' experience teaching sociology and other social sciences in colleges and universities. Special interests: the family, social psychology, introductory sociology, criminology. Age: 40; married. Desires permanent college position in sociology.

M.A. University of Wisconsin 1935, thesis for Ph.D. Columbia practically completed; native American, married; teaching experience in Turkey, Syria and United States; special work in student guidance; numerous references. Holder of fellowship for research in Turkey, 1936-37. Seeks teaching or administrative position for 1937-38 and thereafter.

Ph.D. Michigan, three years foreign travel, study, teaching. Special interests: introductory course, family, social anthropology, educational sociology. Married, two children. Now field representative National Youth Administration.

Ph.D. in sociology; previous training and research in biology. Post-doctoral work in clinical psychology. Extensive travel. Executive secretary and institute of family relations work. Four books; college Professor. Desires teaching, research, or service.

Ph.D., minor in Economics, Columbia, 5 years teaching the social sciences in college; competent in these and statistics, human geography, orientation and technologic history; age 47 years; two books and numerous articles published, years of research work, languages, European travel, Ph.B.K.

Ph.D. Chicago, 1934; married, one child; four years' experience teaching sociology, economics, anthropology and social science survey courses; extensive rural and urban field work; special interests, primitive society and social origins.

M.A. in sociology, Pittsburgh, and candidate for Ph.D.; six years' experience high-school teaching; married, one child; seeks college position in sociology.

CURRENT ITEMS

American Sociological Society. In response to the request of Professor Ernest M. Patterson, President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science of Philadelphia, President Ellsworth Faris appointed the following as representatives of the Society to the sessions of the American Academy to be held on April 16-17: Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University, Professor M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Richard O. Lang, Associate Social Statistician, Central Statistical Board, Washington, D. C.

The following list of new members is supplied by the Secretary, Professor H. A. Phelps.

Peter Alapas, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sister Helen Angela (Hurley), College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn.
Prof. Moses J. Aronson, P.O. Box 50, Hamilton Grange Station, New York City.
Wendell H. Bash, 1746 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass.
William C. Beller, 51 East 123rd St., New York City.
Edward S. Boyer, 1231 W. Main St., Decatur, Ill.
Sister Ann Burns, O.S.B., College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn.
W. P. Carter, Simpson College, Indianola, Ia.
S. L. Chandler, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
Donald Clemmer, 2 Woodruff Road, Joliet, Ill.
Wm. A. Cornell, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
Emma Corstvet, 410 Riverside Dr., New York City.
Dorothy J. Coyle, 525 E. 21st St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
F. G. Detweiler, Denison University, Granville, Ohio.
F. D. Dove, Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Va.
Allen D. Edwards, 2625 Third St., N.E., Washington, D. C.
Anne June Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Olen T. Frazier, New Paltz, N. Y.
Richard Charles Garrison, 2 Woodruff Road, Joliet, Ill.
Joseph A. Geddes, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
Sister Mary Gertrude, Immaculata College, Immaculata, Pa.
W. H. Gilbert, Alabama Polytechnic Inst., Auburn, Ala.
Willystine Goodsell, 509 West 121st St., New York City.
D. Spencer Hatch, Keston, Trivandrum, Tranavcore, South India.
George C. Hilke, S.J., St. Louis University, 221 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
John B. Holt, Capitol Landing Road, Williamsburg, Va.
Margaret Mary Hughes, 548 N. Main St., Greensburg, Pa.

Thomas Gregory Hutton, 311 S. Vermillion St., Pontiac, Ill.
John E. Jacobi, 10 Cedar St., Hyattsville, Md.
Dorothy Krall, 15 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn.
W. L. Leap, Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Ala.
Charles T. Loram, 1030 Whitney Ave., Hamden, Conn.
Donald Marsh, 665 West Hancock, Detroit, Mich.
Margaret Marsh, 11 Hillcrest Pl., Amherst, Mass.
W. Carl Masche, 4545 44th Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.
W. Parker, Mauldin, Box 1518, University, Va.
Mildred R. Mell, Shorter College, Rome, Ga.
Charles H. Z. Meyer, 5514 Glenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
A. Z. Pittler, 208 Dinwiddie St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carl F. Reuss, Box 1114, University P.O., Charlottesville, Va.
Marguerite Reuss, 2131 N. 62nd St., Wauwatosa, Wis.
Carl M. Rosenquist, Univ. of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Alice B. Salter, 1712 Grand, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
G. W. Sarvis, 146 Lincoln, Delaware, Ohio.
Herbert Wallace Saul, 18 Talbot Road, South Braintree, Mass.
Giovanni Schiavo, Vigo Press Features, 2 Rector St., New York City.
Joseph Schneider, 212 Walnut, S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Irvin V. Shannon, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
Daniel N. Sharol, Jewish Educational Center Assn., Holly and Grotto Ave.,
St. Paul, Minn.
J. C. Straley, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburgh, Kans.
Frances D. Streightoff, 733 East 33rd St., Indianapolis, Ind.
George W. Strong, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Florence H. Stubbs, State Teachers College, Farmville, Va.
Arthur L. Swift, 99 Clarement Ave., New York City.
Isidor Thorner, 1031 N. Edgemont, Los Angeles, Calif.
William B. Tollen, 4109 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
R. B. Tozier, State Teachers College, Winona, Minn.
Walter G. Urban, 72 South 19th St., Pittsburgh (3), Pa.
Paul L. Vogt, U.S.D.A., A.A.A., Washington, D. C.
Albert C. Wedge, 2 Woodruff Road, Joliet, Ill.
Joseph Sidney Werlin, 903 Sul Ross, Houston, Tex.

It has been decided to hold the 1937 Annual Meeting at Atlantic City,
with headquarters at the Claridge Hotel.

Since the *Review* is released to members only after renewal of membership,
the Secretary will appreciate prompt notice of failure to receive any
number due, two weeks allowance being made for the renewal to be recorded
and transferred to the printer.

A revised membership list has been distributed to all members. This list
contains the 1936 membership and new members who affiliated up to
March 1, 1937. Please notify the Secretary of corrections or additions.
This membership list may be procured by non-members from the Secretary
for \$3.00.

The addresses of the following honorary members are unknown. Their former addresses were: Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia, Prague, Czechoslovakia; Professor Franz Oppenheimer, Hotel Great Northern, 118 West 57th Street, New York City. Will some member who knows the correct addresses notify the Secretary?

Civil Service Opportunities. The U. S. Civil Service Commission announces examinations for six Social Science Analysts, with salaries as follows: Principal, \$5600; Senior, \$4600; Analyst, \$3800; Associate, \$3200; Assistant, \$2600; and Junior, \$2000. Applications must be received by April 19, 1937, but will be received from the Mountain and Pacific States until April 22, 1937.

Harvard University. Professor Read Bain of Miami University will be Lecturer during 1937-38 in the Department of Sociology. He will give the following courses: Social Control; Culture and Personality; Social Conflict. Professor Bain will repeat his course in Social Control at Radcliffe College.

Dr. N. S. Timasheff who was Lecturer at Harvard in 1936-37 is re-appointed as Lecturer for 1937-38. He will give courses in Sociology of Law, Modern European Social Reforms, and Individualized Treatment of Crime and Criminals. Dr. Timasheff will repeat his course in Modern European Social Reforms at Radcliff College.

The American Book Company has announced publication of three volumes of P. A. Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. The first volume deals with the fluctuation of art, the second with the fluctuation of truth, ethics and law, and the third with the study of the social, political and economic relationships and the fluctuation of wars and revolutions.

Howard University. Dr. Julius E. Lips, formerly Professor of Sociology and Ethnology and Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cologne, has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology as Visiting Professor of Anthropology. In addition to courses in Anthropology, he is conducting with Dr. Frazier and Dr. Muzumdar a Seminar in Race and Culture Conflicts.

Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology as Visiting Lecturer. He is giving courses in the History of Sociology, and Problems of Social Reconstruction.

The John Anisfield Award. The John Anisfield Award of \$1000, established in 1934 by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf of Cleveland, Ohio, in memory of her father, John Anisfield, is awarded annually to encourage and reward the production of good books in the field of racial relationships, either here or abroad.

The committee of judges consists of Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology in New York University, Donald Young, of the Social Science Research Council, and Henry Seidel Canby, Contributing Editor to *The Saturday Review*.

There have been two awards to date: In 1935, the first award went to Harold F. Gosnell for his book "Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago"; in 1936, the second went to Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon for their book "We Europeans: A Survey of 'Racial' Problems."

The Anisfield Award Committee also announces the availability of a five hundred dollar grant-in-aid for assistance in the completion of a study of race relations during 1937-1938.

Projects may be either of an academic research nature or the outgrowth of practical experience in the field of race relations. Since this award is intended to aid in the completion rather than in the initiation of projects, only proposals on which appreciable progress already has been made will be considered. Candidates must be residents of the United States. Applications will not be received from candidates for academic degrees.

Letters of application must be typewritten, and should include full information concerning the applicant's educational and professional record, the project proposed, including the purpose, scope, method and place of work, and the degree of completion already achieved. Need for financial assistance must be shown. Requests for publication subsidy are not eligible for submission. The closing date for the receipt of applications for 1937-1938 will be May 1, 1937. The decision of the Committee, which will be final, will be announced on June 15. The next award, instead of being restricted to books published between August 1, 1936, and August 1, 1937, in accordance with previous custom, will include consideration of publications between August 1, 1936, and December 31, 1937.

All communications should be addressed to Mr. Henry S. Canby in care of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 25 West 45th Street, New York City, and three copies of each book proposed for the main award should be sent to him.

National Archives. The archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Mr. W. L. G. Joerg, of the scientific staff of the American Geographical Society, to the position of Chief of the Division of Maps and Charts in The National Archives. Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, Chief of the Division of Classification, has been given a leave of absence from February 10 to the Middle of April to enable him to visit the capitals of sixteen Latin American nations in the interests of the Texas Pan-American Exposition. Dr. Almon R. Wright will be Acting Chief of the Division during the absence of Dr. Hill.

A new guide to the Federal archives of the United States is being compiled by members of the staff of The National Archives on the basis of information assembled by the deputy examiners in their preliminary surveys of the material in Washington and by the WPA Survey of Federal Archives in its inventories of records outside the District of Columbia. The guide will be published in parts as completed, and each part will describe the records, both in and outside of Washington, of one of the major agencies of the Government or of a group of minor agencies.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The forty-first annual convention of this Congress will be held in Richmond, Va., May 3-7, according to an announcement by Mrs. B. F. Langworthy, national president. The delegates will represent a membership of nearly two million in more than twenty-five thousand local associations. The theme of the Congress is "The Place of the Home in the Community." As part of the celebration,

special honor will be paid to pioneer members of the various states, and particularly to Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who called the meeting of the first National Congress of mothers in Washington, D. C. in 1897.

New Jersey College for Women. Dr. W. O. Brown, formerly Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Cincinnati, and more recently associated with the Works Progress Administration research projects in Washington, has been appointed to the department.

New York University. The School of Architecture and Allied Arts of the University, E. R. Bossange, Dean, announces a summer session in "Housing-Community Planning, and Low Rental Housing Management," with Dr. Carroll Aronovici in charge. Other instructors include Dorothy Schaffter of Vassar, Simon B. Zelnik of New York University and Abraham Goldfeld, Manager of Lavanburg Homes. There is also a list of special lecturers. The session runs from June 14 to July 28. Courses include: Housing; Design of Housing Projects; Field Study; Community Planning; and Management of Low Rental Housing.

Northwestern University. This summer Thomas D. Eliot and Sigrid W. Eliot will be leaders of one of the Experiments in International Living, under the direction of Mr. Donald Watt, taking a party of ten American college students to live in Swedish homes for three weeks, followed by three weeks of camping in northern Sweden. Professor Eliot is now on sabbatical leave as a guest of the University of Wisconsin.

Ohio Sociological Society. The annual Spring meeting of the Ohio Sociological Society will be held in Columbus, Ohio, April 23 and 24, 1937. This will be the thirteenth program of the Society, which was founded in 1925. Approximately one hundred sociologists from the forty-odd colleges and universities of the state are expected to attend the sessions.

The officers for the current year, who are planning the program, are: A. A. Johnston, College of Wooster, president; E. M. Hursh, Otterbein College, vice-president; F. E. Lumley, Ohio State University, editor of "The Ohio Sociologist"; and S. C. Newman, Ohio State University, secretary-treasurer.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes. The Pacific Sociological Society held its eighth annual session at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, December 28-30, 1936. At its first joint session with the Pacific Coast Economic Association, the general subject *Social Security* was discussed by the representatives of both organizations. Dr. William S. Hopkins, University of Washington, and Dr. George B. Mangold, University of Southern California, read papers on "Seasonal Employment and Unemployment Insurance" and on "Translation of Social Theory into Social Legislation," respectively. The second joint session heard Dr. Carl Sauer, University of California, on "Regional Reality in Economy," who advocated a total-situational methodology. Dr. Charles N. Reynolds, Stanford University, and president of the Pacific Sociological Society, and Dr. Kenneth Duncan, Pomona College, president of the Pacific Coast Economic Association, de-

livered their thought-challenging presidential addresses on the subjects, "Sociology and Social Reform" and "The Economist and his Critics," respectively.

In addition to social security, the Society's program covered a wide range of topics of direct interest to sociologists. Under *Criminology and Penology*, two papers were given by J. Herbert Geoghegan, supervisor of education, U. S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island, dealing with "The New Penology in Practice," and Dr. Lloyd LeMaster, Oregon State Agricultural College, who spoke on "The Comparison of Continental and English Law in the Handling of Criminals." Concerning *Recent Social Theory*, Dr. Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon, and Dr. Elton F. Guthrie, University of Washington, offered seasoned papers on "Blanks in Social Theory" and "The Absence of Historical Perspective in American Sociology and the Revival of Historical Materialism," respectively. The session devoted to *Methodology and Research Techniques* scattered intellectual sparks from two diametrically opposed papers by Dr. Arthur E. Briggs, Dean of Metropolitan Law School, Los Angeles, on "Science of Economics from the Viewpoint of Socio-Legal Economics," and Dr. C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia, on "The Engineering Approach to the Delinquent and the Criminal." The Society's last session dealt with the problem of *Introductory Course in Sociology*. Dr. Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, offered his views as to the "Content and Technique of Teaching the Introductory Course," and Professor Carl B. Dent, Washington State College, presented statistical and interpretative data concerning the "Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology on the Pacific Coast."

In order (1) to assure a more representative and democratic procedure, (2) to stimulate intelligent participation, (3) to foster a livelier discussion and (4) to overcome current singularistic presentations by the major speakers, the program chairman had arranged panel discussions. The panel members, having had access to the papers in advance, raised pertinent, pointed, and penetrating issues for consideration in every session except the presidential addresses. Although all the papers read will appear in *Sociology and Social Research* in abridged form, unfortunately the significant issues arising from the observations and reactions of the panel discussion members and the contributions of other members of the Society cannot be presented for lack of space.

Officers for 1937 are: President, George E. Mangold, University of Southern California; Vice-Presidents, Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College, and Glen E. Hoover, Mills College; Secretary-Treasurer, Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon; publications editor, Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California. Two vacancies on the Advisory Council because of expiration of terms were filled by the election of Charles N. Reynolds, Stanford University, and Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon.

Invitation was extended to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association to meet jointly with the Pacific Sociological Society

and the Pacific Coast Economic Association at its next annual meeting. Upon the invitation of Pomona College delegation, Claremont was chosen as the place for the ninth annual session.

The members of the Society will be notified later by letter as to the problems considered by the society at its business session.

SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON
Secretary-Treasurer

University of Oregon

Population Index. *Population Literature*, the first two volumes of which were edited by Mr. Frank Lorimer with the assistance of Mrs. Irene Barnes Taeuber, has been succeeded by *Population Index*, edited by Dr. Frank W. Notestein of Princeton University, with the assistance of Mrs. Taeuber. *Population Index* is published jointly by the School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University and the Population Association of America. It is an invaluable guide to current demographic material to students, research workers and teachers. It is sent to members of the American Population Association free of charge, and to others by subscription. The price is three dollars a year. In its present form the *Index* contains two sections, Current Items and Statistics, in addition to the complete classified and annotated bibliographies previously carried by *Population Literature*. The first number of Volume 3 appeared in January 1937.

Public Forums. The Federal public forum projects begun by the opening of ten public forum demonstration centers in September 1936 under the stimulus of United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. J. W. Studebaker, has been extended by the opening of nine new demonstration centers on February 1, 1937. Each center comprises a number of individual forums. The Office of Education has made a comprehensive survey of 431 public forums sponsored by all types of community organizations. The Office stands ready to co-operate with individuals and local bodies in any matters relating to adult civic education. It may be added that under the Public Works Administration new school buildings with large auditoriums and municipal auditoriums were constructed in some two thousand communities throughout the nation. The creation of these new meeting places has served as an important stimulus to educational authorities and civic leaders in providing programs of public discussion.

Southern Sociological Society. Secretary-Treasurer Rupert B. Vance supplies the following information: The second annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society will be held at the Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama, April 2 and 3, 1937, with President Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, presiding. The following sectional meetings will be held:

Social Welfare and Public Policy, Comer M. Woodward, Emory University, Chairman; Communication and Social Changes, E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University, Chairman; Social Research, B. O. Williams, Clemson College, Chairman; The Teaching of Sociology, Harold D. Meyer, University of North Carolina, Chairman; Rural Sociology, T.

Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, Chairman; The Family, W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee, Chairman.

The annual dinner is devoted to the progress of sociology in the South, with addresses by Wilson Gee, L. L. Bernard, F. W. Hoffer, and Howard W. Odum. Investigating Committees are to report to the Society the results of a year's study on the following topics: Relation of Sociology to Social Work, Status of Sociology in the South, Sociological Research in Southern Colleges, and the Teaching of Sociology in Secondary Schools. The Committee on local arrangements is headed by E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama.

Yale University—John Lobb (Ph.D., 1934), of Mount Holyoke College, spent last summer at work among the Pueblo Indians around Taos, New Mexico. His particular investigation concerned the adjustments made by the Indian youths who, having been educated among white people, return to take up life again among their own folk.

Beginning in the fall of 1937, for the first time in years, Sociology will be a separate department with its own chairman. At present it is associated with Economics, Government and Anthropology as a division of the general Social Science Department.

Foreign Correspondence

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION IN BRAZIL

SAMUEL HARMAN LOWRIE

*Escola de Sociologia e Política
Sao Paulo, Brazil*

Higher education in Brazil is carried on almost exclusively in independent, un-co-ordinated, professional schools. General education of the liberal arts type has been all but unknown; the specialized activity of graduate schools has not existed. Indeed not until 1934 was there an official institution that so much as bore the name of university. Such general education as had been given up to that time was confined to schools founded by some religious sect or order.

In 1933 the School of Sociology and Politics was set up in São Paulo, the industrial center of the country, ostensibly to meet, in some degree at least, this deficiency. Perhaps a more fundamental reason, however, for opening this school was the recognition of the need for a trained body of civil servants. The founders hoped to be able to interest and train a group of the more capable individuals in the community for leadership; as they expressed it, they wished to prepare an enlightened elite to direct society.

Because these founders had great respect and admiration for the social research being done in American educational institutions, they planned to make research an important part of the work of the new school. Accordingly they invited two American professors to become members of the original staff and very soon began laying plans for a research project in co-operation with the state government.

Unfortunately they were not familiar with the nature and methods of research in American institutions. In the first place, they expected students to take considerable part in the research, but those enrolled had no time for such activity. Rather most of them were teachers, lawyers, doctors, and business men who carried on their regular professional work during the day. In the second place, they had a very inadequate conception of the length of time necessary to complete any effective research project, but hoped that imposing reports might be turned out every few months. Finally, they did not recognize the obstacles to effective research to be found in the attitudes and customs of the local population. Excessive lack of confidence in persons not formally introduced, ignorance, unfamiliarity with impersonal, disinterested investigation, and peculiar customs that affect the accuracy and validity of responses to many questions—these are a few of the many difficulties in the way of local social inquiry. The woeful inaccuracy and unreliability of most of the official statistics of whatever kind further complicate the situation.

It is often said in Brazil that if an institution attracts attention and wins a measure of success a rival group will soon take steps to start a competing organization. Accordingly, and for worthier reasons also, the University of São Paulo was set up in 1934. This institution was not merely the work of an opposing group; it represented a different viewpoint. Whereas the School of Sociology and Politics looked to the United States and England for its models along certain lines, the Uni-

versity restricted itself almost exclusively to French patterns, that is, to the traditional influence that has dominated Brazil culturally throughout most of its history.

In organization the University was a combination of some five or six well-known professional institutions that had been in existence for many years and a new unit called the School of Philosophy, Science and Letters, which has some of the characteristics of a liberal arts college mixed rather indiscriminately with ideas of a graduate school. Quite oddly for these days of excessive nationalism, it was expected that most of the staff would be drawn from foreign countries. Therefore, a representative was sent to Europe to choose suitable professors, those actually selected being mostly French with one representative each from Italy, Germany and Spain. France gained this position of prominence not merely because of her traditional influence and the fact that the French language is understood by most educated Brazilians, but also because its government was willing to loan professors from governmental universities and to continue to pay a portion of their salaries. As a consequence the French came as semi-official representatives of their country, as did the teachers from Italy and Spain. It is even said that Italy offered to staff the university and pay the full salary of the whole teaching force.

In 1935, a university was opened in Rio de Janeiro. Its staff includes a number of Brazilians, some of whom reflect American viewpoints, but the foreign members are all Europeans employed under similar conditions to those in São Paulo. Enabling laws have been passed allowing the organization of universities in other states, but, so far as notices in local papers, indicate, no active work has yet been initiated in any of them.

In São Paulo under the conditions of contracts made with foreign teachers, there was a natural tendency to consider the members of the staff as propagandists for their respective countries. Indeed, it would be impossible for men drawn under the conditions to be wholly unprejudiced in their utterances. Naturally, rivalries sprang up between different national groups, and discord arose in the group that came from one country. Instead of co-operating and working unitedly to aid the Brazilians in setting up an efficient educational institution, they broke up into cliques for championing nationalistic viewpoints or for defending some special doctrine. For instance, plans for co-ordinating related departments have been affected by purely personal antagonisms. Since much of this friction has come directly or indirectly to be common knowledge, the effects have been doubly unfortunate: it has hindered the formation of a strong, well co-ordinated school and has been a factor in keeping the number of students very low.

A further reason why the School of Philosophy, Science and Letters has not attracted many students has a cultural foundation. In Brazil the conception of education is an essentially utilitarian one, that students who finish a course of training should be able to utilize it immediately in earning a livelihood. Since a liberal arts course can not promise such prompt remuneration, few students were attracted. To meet this difficulty the government is paying practically all students monthly somewhat more than the salaries drawn by the regular teachers in the primary schools of São Paulo.

As a consequence in part of the motives which led to the establishment of the School of Sociology and Politics, the municipal government organized in 1935 the Department of Culture. One of the functions of a division of this department was to initiate and carry out research along social lines. One of the American professors in the School of Sociology and Politics was appointed as technical adviser and given a fairly free hand in suggesting and carrying out projects. A study of relief organizations in the city of São Paulo has been completed and the report published in the *Revista do Archivo Municipal de São Paulo*, Numbers 27, 28, 29, October, November,

and December, 1936. An ecological study of the population of the city of São Paulo, based upon the state census of 1934, has also been initiated. Unfortunately this study has gone slowly because of the delay in the elaboration of the census returns by the Bureau of the Census. At the present time an investigation is being made of the standard of living of the garbage collectors and street cleaners of the municipality. This is a particularly difficult piece of work since these people represent the lowest stratum of society, a group where apparently in one-fourth to one-half of the families no member is able to read or write. This last study in conjunction with similar studies to be made of industrial workers is to be used in constructing a cost-of-living index.

The conflict between the ideas behind the University and those behind the School of Sociology and Politics and the Department of Culture is the same conflict that permeates much of the cultural development of Brazil at the present time. As has been pointed out previously, throughout the history of Brazil she has looked mostly to the east and not to the north for inspiration and patterns in cultural matters. Economically, America has had considerable influence; an attempt has been made to superimpose her form of political organization on the distinctively Latin traditions and customs of the people. The Rockefeller Foundation has been able to inculcate much that is American in the realm of medicine. In primary education one of the outstanding influences has been an American woman. But in the liberal forms of higher education France has held a predominant, almost an exclusive place. Just now there is some evidence of a slight shift toward the north as was shown in the bringing down, in the early part of 1936, of an American to occupy the chair of history in the School of Philosophy, Science and Letters. Since this professor is a journalist as well as a historian he has been able to bring many of his ideas before the public. Additional evidence of a shift has come within the past few weeks in a remarkable change that has taken place in the most conservative and definitely French newspaper of the state. Instead of including almost exclusively articles primarily European or with a European slant, it has begun to use American material. In a recent Sunday edition only one of six articles was either Brazilian or European. Four were American, one English. Whether this change represents a real shift in viewpoint or was the consequence of the then impending Pan-American Conference, time alone will tell.

A reason why this conflict of culture patterns is of particular interest to sociologists is that the conception of sociology is the center of debate. In the new schools set up in founding universities, both in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro, the social sciences have been given a pre-eminent place; and first among the social sciences has been sociology. As a consequence, conflict between French and American culture patterns has not always been a generalized contest, but a specific question of whether sociology is a doctrinaire system of thought or an objective study of social relationships. Traditional backgrounds favor the philosophical conception; the American case rests upon the appeal of objective inquiry.

The only social science reviews in Brazil are all either purely historical or historical in their primary interest. These are:

1. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*. Semi-annual, begun in 1894. Address: Rua Benjamin Constant, 40, São Paulo. Publication of the oldest and most highly respected local historical society.

2. *Annaes do Museu Paulista*. Annual. Address: Museu Paulista, São Paulo. Not properly a review nor necessarily historical; but because of the special interest of the present director, almost exclusively historical.

3. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*. Monthly, begun in 1934. Address: Rua Cantareira, 216, São Paulo. Publication of the Department of Culture of São Paulo.

Historical with numerous articles of an ethnological and sociological nature. Invariably includes a number of historical documents. Refuses to accept anything previously published.

RECENT WORK IN CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY IN BRAZIL, ARGENTINA AND MEXICO

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The last decade has witnessed a marked increase in the study of social anthropology, cultural sociology, and archaeology in several Latin American countries, and particularly in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. The following booknotes will serve to illustrate some of the trends in this phase of sociology in these three countries.

I

Ensaios de Antropologia Brasiliiana. By E. Roquette-Pinto. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933. 190 pp.

Seixos Rolados (Estudios Brasileiros). By E. Roquette-Pinto. Rio: Mendonça, Machado e Ca. 336 pp.

Ensayos de Filosofia Biologica. By C. Laclau. Buenos Aires: Editorial C.L.E.S., 1935. 143 pp.

Roquette-Pinto, of the Brazilian Academy, is one of the most active and critical of Brazil's social anthropologists. In the *Essays* he is concerned primarily with population, migration, and race. This last subject occupies more than half of the volume and ranges from race fertility to the spiritual qualities of the Negroes, Japanese, Indians, Hindus, and the Portuguese. Eugenics is a side problem with those of race and population. The most important essay in the volume is on the anthropological types of Brazil (117-172), in which he reviews critically the accumulated literature on the subject. Numerous North Americans, including Davenport, Hankins, Babcock, Morgan, Porteus, Ripley, are cited and their views discussed. Of the fifteen essays in the *Brazilian Studies*, three are of especial interest to our readers. "Brazil and Anthropogeography" takes its departure from the methods of Ratzel and Le Play and indicates very concretely the importance of human geography for the future of Brazil and reviews the work already done. "The Aborigines and Ethnographers" treats the Indians as surviving ancestors and gives a very useful resume of the ethnographic work already accomplished in Brazil. In "The Laws of Eugenics" the author returns to a question of much concern to him in the previous volume—how to improve the racial stock of the masses of Brazil. Both of these volumes are very erudite and modern.

The brilliant *Essays* by the unfortunate Laclau contains papers centering especially around the controversy over mechanism and vitalism in animal behavior, with especial attention to the theories of Ortega y Gasset, Hans Driesch, and Meyerson. Unfortunately their pungent criticism is somewhat spoiled by the spirit of semi-mysticism which seems to have taken possession of Argentina since the Great War.

II

O Negro Brasileiro. By Arthur Ramos. Rio: Civilização Brasileira, S. A., 1934. 303 pp.

O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos. By Nina Rodrigues. Rio: Civilização Brasileira, S. A., 1934. 210 pp.

Professor Ramos, in his Library of Scientific Instruction (Biblioteca de Divulgação Scientifica), has begun the publication of a series of scientific works dealing with the cultural sociology of Brazil. The two volumes listed above are the first to appear, but several others are announced. The *Brazilian Negro* is the most complete work on the primitive religious traits of this type which has yet appeared anywhere. It is the result of very careful research and checking of sources. An attempt is made to trace the fetishistic practices, prayers, songs, and dances in the Brazilian Negro rituals back to the Gold Coast, Sudanese and Islamic sources in Africa from which they sprang. There is a good chapter on religious syncretism, and others on fetishistic magic and possession. The author has a strong psychoanalytic bias, chiefly after the manner of Jung, and, in the second part of the work, presents a considerable number of standard complexes, which he has discovered in the fetishistic practices of the Negro. He also has chapters on phallic symbolization, totemism (Freud), the cult of twins, and Levy-Bruhl's theory of prelogical thinking as applied to his subject matter. The work by Rodrigues is a reprint of a work first published some forty years ago, which served as a pattern for the more exhaustive studies of Ramos.

III

Noces de Biotipologia: Constituição, Temperamento, Carácter. By W. Berardinelli. Rio: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1933. 348 pp.
Biotipología Criminal. By W. Berardinelli and João I. de Mendonça. Rio: Editora Guanabara, 1933. 187 pp.
Arquivos de Medicina Legal e Identificação. Edited by Leonidio Ribeiro and Miguel Salles. Rio: Imprensa Nacional, No. 8, 1934 (403 pp.); No. 9, 1934 (415 pp.); No. 1, 1935 (188+XXVII pp. +71 plates); No. 13, 1936 (431 pp. +38 plates).
Revista de Identificación y Ciencias Penales. Edited by Luis Reyna Almandos, La Plata (Argentina): Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1934-1936, vols. X-XII.
A Lepra é Capaz de Alterar as Desenhos Papillares das Impressões Digitais. By Leonidio Ribeiro. Rio: Imprensa Nacional, 1934. 15 pp. +46 plates.
Psiquiatría y Criminología. Edited by Osvaldo Loudet. Buenos Aires: Penitenciaría Nacional, Nos. 1-3, 1936. 6 numbers yearly, \$5.
Boletín del Instituto Internacional Americano de Protección à la Infancia. Edited by Dr. Roberto Berro. Montevideo. Monthly.

The absence of any treatise on *biotypology* in Portuguese and numerous requests from students, practitioners and others led Dr. Berardinelli of the faculty of clinical medicine of Rio to produce one. His viewpoint is catholic rather than partisan. After discussing at some length the various subjective and environmental causes of individual differences, he presents the history of constitutional theories from the time of the Greeks to the present. A concept of normality having been established he next reviews the various morphological, physiological, and psychological theories of personality traits and types, leaving to the reader to make up his own mind as to which, if any, he wishes to accept. He then proceeds to attempt to show the correlations of various biotypes with outstanding diseases, behaviors, and social conditions. For one who can read the Portuguese this work offers a good summary of all of the theories of personality types. The *Criminal Biotypology* attempts to apply the study of types to the classification and discovery of criminals. The older theories of Lombroso are rejected, though treated with respect. The chief work of the author is in the direction of adding new correlations of personality and crime to those that have already been ascertained. This is the first product of the Laboratory of Criminal Anthropology of the Institute of Identification of Rio. The methods of investigation used are presented.

In the reviewer's opinion the best periodical publications on identification in existence are to be found at La Plata, Argentina and at Rio in the two periodicals here mentioned. The *Review of Identification* carries splendid articles on this subject and in the field of criminology in general. It is a large journal of about 1000 pages annually. The *Archives* at Rio adds legal medicine to the subject of identification and other aspects of criminology. Each issue carries several original investigations as well as an abundance of other matter of use to the profession. Loudet's *Psychiatry and Criminology* also runs over 1000 pages to the year and covers the fields of clinical psychiatry, criminal biology, psychopathology, mental hygiene, and legal medicine. It is the successor of a similar journal established some twenty years ago by the Argentine genius, Ingenieros. The *Bulletin*, of Montevideo, is of approximately the same size and confines itself to original studies and professional data on infant mortality, morbidity, and prophylactics and character building activities as they relate to anthropology and medicine. Its founder, Luis Morquio, has recently been succeeded by Roberto Berro in the editorial chair. It carries articles in Spanish and Portuguese indifferently. All of these periodicals are official and are edited with the highest degree of efficiency and intelligence.

Ribeiro's monograph is a photographic study illustrating the changes in finger prints produced by leprosy.

IV

Introducción al Estudio de la Arqueología. By Antonio Serrano. Paraná: La Universidad, 1932.

Los Primitivos Habitantes del Territorio Argentino. By Antonio Serrano. Buenos Aires: Juan Roldan y Cia., 1935. 215 pp. +plates and illustrations.

Las Culturas Protóhistóricas del Este Argentino y Uruguay. By Antonio Serrano. Paraná: Casa Predassi, 1933. 44 pp. +8 plates.

Arqueología del Litoral. By Antonio Serrano. Paraná: Casa Predassi, 1932. 89 pp. +30 plates.

El Área de Dispersión de las Llamadas Alfarerías Gruesas del Territorio Argentino. Buenos Aires: Casa Editora Coni, 1935. 9 pp., maps, plates.

Observaciones sobre la Alfarería de los Medanos de Colón. By Antonio Serrano. Paraná: Casa Predassi, 1933. 13 pp., maps, plates.

Serrano's *Introduction* is to the various monographs that follow, all of which are experimental field studies. *The Primitive Inhabitants of the Argentine Territory* is especially rich in examples of archeological remains and their classification and explanation. There is a very full bibliography. The other monographs are of a similar, but more limited, character. As might be expected, the chief emphasis is upon pottery, but mound and village sites and culture areas are not neglected.

V

Hispanismos en el Guarani. By Marcos A. Morinigo. Buenos Aires: La Universidad, 1935. 432 pp., plates, map.

Primer Centenario de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Tomo II. México: Sociedad Mex. de Geografía y Estadística, 1933. 342 pp., charts, maps.

Grupo Sanguíneo dos Índios Guarany. By Leonidio Ribeiro. Rio: Imprensa Nacional, 1934. 9 pp. +4 plates.

La Civilización Nahoá. By Luis Chavez Orozco. Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1933. 93 pp.

Morinigo's study of the penetration of Spanish culture among the Guarani Indians as indicated by the absorption of Spanish words and forms into their language is of first-rate importance among ethnographic researches. Both the philology

and the social culture are treated. Most of the work is taken up with the presentation of the evidence and a good map illustrating the regional influences is very helpful. The body of the second volume issued by the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics is occupied by three highly important anthropological papers which translate as: "The Mayan Calendar and Chronographic Hieroglyphics," by Enrique Juan Palacios, "The Engraving in the City of Puebla of the Angels," by Francisco Pérez Salazar, and "Criminality in Mexico in Recent Years," by Ramón Prida. The first two are profusely illustrated with numerous important engravings. Ribeiro's study is related to the typology work of Berardinelli and shows that these Indians are wholly in blood group O. Chavez Orozco's study of the Nahoa civilization is important because it shows that there were not three races and civilizations in Mexico, called Toltec, Chichimec, and Aztec, but that there were instead three stages of rise, decline and renaissance in these three eras so named. The culture of each era is described and transitions are noted. The little book is of great value in the history of culture.

VI

Danzas y Canciones Argentinas: Teorías y Investigaciones. By Carlos Vega. Buenos Aires; G. Ricordi y Cia., 1936. 311 pp. 4 pesos.

Visión de Anahuac. By Alfonso Reyes. Madrid: Indice, 1933. 65 p.

Centón Lírico. By José E. Machado. Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930. 245 pp.

An admirable study in folk sociology is Carlos Vega's *Argentine Dances and Songs*, made according to the most approved modern methods of investigation. The decline of the old prerevolutionary songs and dances in the decade of 1810-1820 is described together with the growth of a new post-revolutionary type of singing and dancing. Numerous examples of songs with music and many drawings and plates (some from famous local paintings) of the dances of all types are shown. The tango is traced back to Andaluzia in Spain. Not the least interesting thing in the volume is the account of the transformation which songs and dances underwent in the process of transmission from other cultures to the Argentine. This work is indispensable to the student of folklore. Alfonso Reyes' exposition of the *Vision of Anahuac* presents a useful and compact account of this folk legend dating back to 1519. Machado's *Lyrical Garland* is another important contribution to Latin American folklore. Ballads, lyrics, epigrams, popular stories covering the important and striking events in Venezuela during the nineteenth century are here brought together with historical and geographical notes which render the folk literature intelligible. While more of a compilation than a work of research, it is still of great value to the folk sociologist.

Periodical Literature

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Seventy Years of It. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936. Pp. x+341. \$3.00.

It is always illuminating to trace back a great man's work to his personal experiences—culture, of course, being held constant. The biography of scientists is therefore almost as interesting as the history of science itself, if not more so, and when we get an autobiography of a man like Ross we are

indeed fortunate, for the reflection of the man in his works has perhaps never been more clear-cut than in the case of Ross.

In American social psychology, Ross, as contrasted with Baldwin, Cooley, and Mead, for example, has stood for the objective or "planes and currents" approach to the subject. He emphasized the mass behavior of men rather than their attitudes or desires (p. 114). In sociology also he was interested in objective processes such as assimilation, differentiation, opposition, co-operation, and the like (p. 178) rather than in personality. In his observation of foreign cultures he looked for these objective processes and described them. In all his work the emphasis is on the impersonal objective rather than on the motivational or subjective aspects of social phenomena. In the present autobiography we can get some inkling as to the reasons for this objective orientation.

Ross himself traces it back to his reaction against two cases of delusional insanity encountered in his youth (pp. 6-7), which determined him never himself to be lost in subjective unreality; in part also to his matter-of-fact rural childhood (p. 6), and also to his German university training (p. 38). An outsider might venture to suggest that his reaction (pp. 116, 117) against the Presbyterian practice of probing motives may have had something to do with his marked objectivity also. Equally important, no doubt, was the markedly extravert nature of Ross's personality (pp. 286, 309) and its phenomenal integrity, both psychological and social (pp. 12, 19, 116, 117, 286).

This objective emphasis stands out clearly when we compare Ross with Cooley. Both studied classes, institutions, groups, social processes—but with a difference. To Ross, the robust extravert, for example, the family was essentially a demographic unit. To the sheltered and delicate Cooley it was a primary group. Conflict was no stranger to Cooley, as it was to Ross, and therefore he developed a highly complex self-consciousness. As a result he saw the impact of the social order on personality very vividly. Ross saw cultural types of personality behavioristically, not motivationally. In both cases it was the personality of the man that determined the viewpoint. It does not follow, of course, that Ross did not understand human nature. This was far from being the case. He was simply not interested—for reasons pointed out above—in probing into the subjective side of social phenomena. As he puts it, he was a sociologist, not a psychologist (p. 114).

The same objectivity which has permeated all of Ross's work characterizes the present volume also. A thoroughly extraverted person like Ross, without conflicts, will evolve a great deal of social consciousness, but not very much self-consciousness (p. 286). When, therefore, he sits down to write his autobiography, "sympathetic introspection" will reveal to him much about the dominance of business in our day, about exploitation, about institutions, and the like. It will not show much about subjective motivations. The present volume might have been called "Ross, Abridged," for it contains the history of the genesis and influence and main contributions of all his works. But personal glimpses are not lacking by any means. The tribute to Rosamond (pp. 42-44) is as lovely a piece of personal writing as one will find anywhere. The glimpses into his writing habits (pp. 130-131),

his statement of his attitude toward religion (pp. 115-119) and of his mature philosophy of life (pp. 275-279), his candid admission of past theoretical errors (pp. 113, 179, 229), his catholic tolerance toward different cultures (p. 276), his pagan delight in the beauties of Tahiti (pp. 280-284), all give us a picture of Ross the man both revealing and endearing. The personality that emerges from these pages is the kind that many of us like to think of as characteristically American. One might wish it was more typically American.

I may be pardoned a personal reference before closing. In my copy of this volume Ross has written, "To my dear friend, Jessie Bernard, who nagged me and badgered me until she got me to undertake the writing of this book." I cheerfully admit the charges. In the summer of 1932 my husband sent me to interview Professor Ross concerning certain aspects of his career. Professor Ross was much interested in my quest. He put all his files at my disposal and allowed me to interview him whenever he had time. I was greatly impressed with the richness of the material I found and urged Ross to write it up in autobiographical form. But he balked at the very idea. I persisted, "nagged and badgered," and finally won my point. I teased out a dozen or more memories, stimulated the recall of as many half-forgotten events, and, most important of all, overcame a score of inhibitions. Time and again he would reply to my questions with a half-embarrassed protest, "But people wouldn't be interested in that!" I kept assuring him they would. And as they appear in this book I am even surer that they will, for Professor Ross has done an exceptionally good job in this autobiography in spite of his many misgivings. I am proud indeed to have nagged and badgered it into existence.

JESSIE BERNARD

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Why I Think So: The Autobiography of an Hypothesis. By ETHEL STURGES DUMMER. Chicago: Clarke-McElroy Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. 274. \$1.50.

This is a unique book which every library should secure before it becomes a prized rarity. That by their fruits you may know why, witness some of the pioneering ventures in mental hygiene and education to which Mr. and Mrs. Dummer contributed in one way or another, many of which may not previously have been generally associated with their name, so modestly have they worked and given:

School lunches; the first psychopathic clinic for behavior problem children (Healy and Bronner); a study of girls' reformatories (Van Waters); a study of special schools for difficult boys (Stullken); a special "activities" class in the Montefiore School (Beaman); significant symposia under various official auspices on Modern Education, The Foundations of Behavior, The Delinquent Girl, The Family, The Unconscious, Mental Hygiene and Social Work; books of wide importance (*Some Contributions of Modern Science Concerning Education, The Unadjusted Girl, Youth in Conflict, The Unconscious, The Collected Works of Mary Everest Boole*); dozens of significant speakers "discovered," or brought to important conferences, or their

papers reprinted and circulated—and many another quiet bit of inspiration or support of which only the immediate recipients are aware.

Characteristically, she also omits the personal tributes which have been made from time to time, and the important role of her own hospitable and inspiring home. And there have been many contributions material and spiritual which the book omits because I am sure its author has herself forgotten them.

Mrs. Dummer has evinced perennial youth and resilience in her recurrent pursuit of new enthusiasms. That these were not mere tangents, but successive expressions of a continuing faith, may be called a major demonstration of this book. She is quite ready to be called a mystic, but that she calls her faith an *hypothesis* (something *under-lying*) is significant of her life-long respect for verification. She has put her faith repeatedly to the test of works.

Note the sequence of activities, experiences and agencies which "drew out" (educated) the Dummers:

Child rearing, child labor, school lunches, Juvenile Protective Association, vacation schools, community centers, urban parks, playgrounds, ecological maps, housing, the "Wisconsin Idea," the University of Chicago Settlement, suppressed revelations of parasitic packers' profits, child welfare exhibit, teaching materials on city growth, protesting forced marriages, *Mutterschutz*, progressive education, creative recreation, social group work, war work in social hygiene, the section on the family in the American Sociological Society, National Probation Association, politics of state institutions, public education again, Montefiore School, Lincoln State School, the Boole Blocks, opening part of their own home as a reading and lecture center for Chicago's teachers, research in children's eyestrain. . . .

What next? for Mrs. Dummer still carries on at seventy!

To review a biography is a complex task, to review the autobiography of a friend is indeed difficult. The task is that of interpreting to a wider circle an appreciation which perhaps can only come to the many fortunate ones who in greater or less measure have met and shared directly in her thought-work. While there is a general chronological sequence, the frequent shifts of date (noted by the typographic device of insets), and the still more frequent omission of dates, serve to express the broad time-span of the processes by which implications of early memories and insights have been supplemented, worked out, confirmed, by later experience and by contributions from others with widely differing experience and thought-ways. Indeed, there is about the integration and unfolding of truth something at once dynamic and timeless, an intellectual entelechy. In retrospect the configuration is seen to have been implicit.¹

One traces in the narrative a constant alternation of vivid, forward-looking, outpouring *action*, with profound intellectual, searching receptivity, searching, and *meditation*. This interaction of thought and deed em-

¹ Mrs. Dummer's daughter, Katharine Fisher, has expressed this in her own design for the book's jacket, a grown tree—the roots of which, hidden in the unconscious, have produced the fused personality and have branched out and borne their fruit in social relations.

bodies and exemplifies the very hypothesis of body-mind integrity which was the Dummers' ideal.

No review of Mrs. Dummer's philosophy would be complete without some mention of the more than a hundred thinkers to whom she attributes her conscious intellectual insights; first and foremost Mary Everest Boole, a little-known but profound English writer in whom she finds foresights of all her current rediscoveries. Had the book an index, it would show the wealth of Mr. Dummer's scholarship and the range of her mind: it would be a fascinating task to read all the books she cites, and thus in some measure to re-tread the paths of her inspiration. Throughout, there is a fine transvaluation of Biblical aphorisms in modern terms. Many of her early sources came to memory only when she reviewed early personal records; in later recent years she has been over-conscious of her sources—usually quoting them directly, and producing a mosaic effect, when footnotes dropped from a continuous exposition of her own philosophy might have given a smoother clarity had she more confidence in the weight and acceptability of her own experience and phrasing.

In *The Road to Xanadu*, John Livingston Lowes runs to their sources in Coleridge's reading and travel nearly every line of "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan." Yet the mosaic is not the vase. The unique synthesis came from within. The poet from three words can make a star. And, above all, Mrs. Dummer is *ποντής*, a maker. She has always assimilated germinal bits from a multitude of sources into her own mother-earth wisdom. These have continuously fructified in unique personal form. Like Jane Addams, she has also the ability of the *seer*, to see in simple human incidents profound realities and to interpret these insights *sub specie aeternitatis*.

Dr. Southard, in *The Kingdom of Evils*, divides reformers roughly into Dragon-Slayers and Grail-Seekers. Mrs. Dummer has definitely been the Grail-Seeker. "Evil is an anachronism"—an outgrown good. The higher good, hidden within the present because of the present limits, and accessible through the release of energies when the *limits* of the situation are opened up, enlarged, to include conflicting elements in a larger synthesis—this has always been her goal; and perhaps this is one way of stating the "hypothesis" which she herself never explicitly formulates. To attempt to do so definitively would, of course, crystallize and thereby destroy the very soul of the hypothesis itself: for its growth must and will continue like the chambered nautilus. No figure of speech will hold it for long.

T. D. ELIOT

Northwestern University

The Anatomy of Frustration. By H. G. WELLS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. viii+217. \$2.00.

This book by one of the most prolific writers of the age concerns itself with the kinds, causes and social consequences of the various "frustrations" of the contemporary world. Although sub-titled "a modern synthe-

sis," it is bound together by a unity of intuition rather than of doctrine. The fleeting analyses of knotty problems in economics and politics suggest only obliquely what it is that H. G. Wells offers the world today as a working substitute for the differently-hued ideologies obsessing the minds of men.

The book is cast in the form of a prose soliloquy by one William Steele, a retired American industrialist, scientist, lover, and man of general affairs who attempts to distill from a rich and wide experience some fundamental truths about human destiny. One would imagine that Mr. Wells had long since written himself out on these themes; and certainly his present effort does not measure up in grandeur of conception and intensity of treatment to other things he has written. But it is a tribute to the genial character of his mind and the emotional sensitivity with which he responds to the new occasions when old problems are freshly rediscovered, that he is still capable of scattering brilliant insights in his running commentary on the drives, habits, and creeds of men.

Perhaps the best key to H. G. Wells' own perspective in this book is the chapter on the "Lack of Liberal Morale" where by liberalism is meant not the historic system of *laissez-faire* but a faith in scientific method harnessed to the twin values of individual integrity and co-operative diversity. Arrayed against totalitarianisms of different shades the case for liberalism may go by default because it has not succeeded in organizing the enthusiasm, energies, and hard discipline which "the political oaf, the modern dictator with a gang or mob behind him" has been able to evoke for some mystical formula. Again and again Wells strikes this note, holding up as an ideal and a promise "a world revolution . . . to produce this world community of candid individuals, thinking freely, 'liberal-socialist,' at once experimental and devoted."

None the less, although he is acutely aware of the failure of liberalism, in his sense, to develop a fighting morale, he does not grapple with any of the problems which such a development must confront. For one thing, he avoids all questions of program, for fear that a program once adopted may harden into a set of dogmas. The result is that the experimental method he advocates functions only as a slogan. It is left suspended, unable to acquire the leverage necessary for the social change he desires. Whereas his own biological and psychological *aperçus* indicate that interests—and frustrations of interests—carry men into action, he offers no concrete schedule of interests to give his experimental method direction, sustaining force, or even the possibility and freedom to operate. These interests need not be fixed or absolute. As Dewey has pointed out, they may be taken tentatively and criticized in the light of the consequences of the method employed to realize them. These interests may not even be universal. They will always be historically conditioned, and often class-conditioned, but an experimental method makes it possible to determine which interests are and can be universal and which not. And no liberalism of the kind whose failure of nerve Wells bewails, can begin to organize itself without taking realistic note of the fact that there are some irresolvable differences to-day between people, *e.g.*, the difference as to whether the method of intelligence

should be the method of negotiating differences or the method of authority or brute coercion.

Divorcing the experimental method from the question of interests leads Wells to different positions which are inconsistent with each other. He dismisses with justification the utopian illusion of a world in which there are no conflicts but speaks of the ideal society as one in which "we shall live in the All and the All will live in each of us." The difficulty here is not only, as he himself admits, that his meaning is *oversaid* and borders on nonsense, but that such meanings, outside of the historic and concrete contexts of human interests, serve as ritualistic premises for other social philosophies which Wells abominates. Further, without an investigation of the social conditions and interests which help or hinder the rise of an ethics of intelligence, Wells is compelled to offer a purely psychological explanation of the forms which acceptance or rejection of rational method take. On his view not only is there love of freedom and unrestraint in human beings; there is an instinctive desire for discipline, too. When old restraints are broken down under the impact of bewildering complex social forces, the mind enjoys only for a little while the adventure of free choice and action. But soon the "agoraphobia in the normal make-up asserts itself." This is the fear of those open places in which there is no guide but intelligence. The passionate desire to have other people do their thinking for them and to attain a security they can never achieve through their own emotional and intellectual resources accounts, according to Wells, for adhesions to Fascist and Communist parties. There is a great deal of psychological insight in Wells' analysis, but were it the whole story it would make a futile dream of Wells' open conspiracy to transform existing society by intelligent methods into a society in which only methods of social change would be employed.

One should read this book for its penetrating asides rather than for its systematic argument. Speaking of the reasons why present-day socialism has failed to make headway, he says among other things: "You stop thinking when you begin to hunt for disciples." And of his capacity for perfectly killing characterizations in one sentence, the reader may judge aenent this comment on Viscount Snowden: "His speciality was virtuous indignation and, since you cannot think indignantly, he preferred not to think at all."

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Glory Roads: the Psychological State of California. By LUTHER WHITEMAN and SAMUEL L. LEWIS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1936. Pp. x+267.
\$2.00.

For several years California has attracted the attention of the country because of its "red-baiting" activities on the one hand and its flair for popular "movements" looking toward political and social reform on the other. The present volume gives an account of several of these "movements" by two men who have been participant observers of them. Mr.

Whiteman is a founder and secretary of the Social Credit Association, and Mr. Lewis, who grew up with the Progressive Movement, has been a speaker for the Townsend organization.

Technocracy, as it was received and interpreted in California, is presented as a basis for most of the subsequent crusading organizations. Four chapters are devoted to a history of the idealistic, non-political Utopian Society; eight chapters to Dr. Townsend's OARP; four chapters to the Rochdale Coöperatives and related barter organizations, including Tradex; and three chapters to Upton Sinclair's EPIC. The leadership, program, techniques, and extent and character of the membership in each of these organizations are analyzed and evaluated. In general this analysis appears to be carefully done, with citations from correspondence, publications, reports of investigations, and the like. The leaders range from bold racketeers to the sincerely deluded, and their support comes largely from marginal groups most affected by economic and social maladjustment.

In general the movements imply mass regimentation and a totalitarian state. The authors find in them "symptoms of fascism." They see as a real possibility the election of a congress subservient to an extra-governmental, popular organization "led by racketeers and ignorant messiahs," allied with big business and finance and, perhaps, resorting to the methods of the Black Legion—"This is not so far distant as one may think. . ." (p. 267). This belief of the authors may be in part inference from experience and from research in the preparation of this volume, but it may also be a bias that has operated selectively upon the evidence and so prejudiced to some extent the results.

C. W. HART

University of Iowa

El Jimmy, Outlaw of Patagonia. By HERBERT CHILDS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1936. Pp. 399. \$3.00.

Catch 'Em Alive Jack. By JOHN R. ABERNATHY. New York: Association Press, 1936. Pp. 224. \$2.00.

Black Range Tales. By JAMES A. MCKENNA. New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936. Pp. xiv+300. \$3.50.

Out of the West. By RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON. New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936. Pp. xvii+480. \$4.00.

The sociologist, since he is primarily a student of society, knows that biographies will only indirectly furnish data for his studies. He must become an adept in winnowing sociological grain from the general-reader chaff.

El Jimmy is a fair account of life in southern Patagonia and in Tierra del Fuego from 1892 to 1930, during most of which time those regions were raw frontier. Jimmy was by turns a gaucho, an outlaw, an established sheep-farmer. Married to an Indian wife, he lived the life of a pioneer in a territory whose social institutions were in the making. Quite aside from

the adventure story which was Jimmy's life, Mr. Childs' book is full of material on frontier adjustments, on the losing struggle of the Tehuelche Indians for survival, on the problems of settlers in a country where no law existed. Patagonia is a weird admixture of the problems of pastoral Australia and of our American southern Great Plains. The chief value of the book is its novelty, for works dealing with Patagonian life are singularly few.

The deluge of books about the American West in its days of pioneering continues. Men who helped make the region what it is are now growing old and are writing their memoirs; biographers are unearthing materials about the most picturesque of the pioneers; historians are producing general and particular accounts of frontier days and ways. The sociologist faces this wealth of material in some bewilderment, for it is prevailingly of two sorts: chronological data enlivened by anecdotes, and life-stories in which social adjustments are merely hinted at. Mr. Abernathy's breezy autobiography is largely useless. The author, by his prowess in capturing wolves alive, attracted the attention of Theodore Roosevelt; but the comments he makes on frontier Oklahoma and Texas are scattered, naive, and always subordinate to his interest in his own story.

Mr. McKenna's stories centre about the life of prospectors in the Black Range of southwestern New Mexico. They are well told, full of humor, evocative of the spirit of the times (1877-1900). Read for diversion, they are entertaining, down to the last yarn of the Spit and Whittle Club and the last adventure with the Apaches. Read for material on social life, they contain details scattered parenthetically throughout—details which must be gleaned with infinite patience.

Mr. Wilson's book, a revision and expansion of his first edition, makes personalities and extraordinary events serve as the focus around which to retell the story of the making of the states beyond the Mississippi. It concerns hunters, traders, miners, Vigilantes, cattlemen; its locale is Oregon as well as Texas, Arizona as well as Montana. It concentrates upon the heroism of men in the wild days of the West. The author has read widely and well; but there is nothing new in his book.

The most valuable work which students of the cultural development of the West could now accomplish would be to collect the hundreds of volumes of memoirs similar to *Black Range Tales* and gather the essential facts about the growth of social institutions on these frontiers. Limiting himself to mining camps, the sociologist could, from such material, show the similarities and differences in economic adjustments in various camps and towns, the codes of morality (obviously present) which arose, the miners' methods of social control, the relative importance of social institutions in a settlement which knew itself to be temporary. Read in isolation from such generalization, books like Mr. McKenna's are mere diversion; read with such larger matters in mind, *Black Range Tales* will prove one of the more rewarding regional works.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

Yale University

The Puritan Pronaos. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. New York: New York University Press, 1936. Pp. 281. \$3.75.

The Rise and Fall of the New Haven Colony. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. 56. \$50.

Morison in this series of lectures, delivered in 1934 at the Washington Square Center, New York University, shows a sympathetic insight into the life of Puritan New England during the first century of settlement. Unlike many authors who seem to feel that the Puritanic outlook hindered intellectual development, this author takes the attitude that the religious motivation of the Puritan stimulated his intellectual life and raised him above the dead-level plane of living frequently imposed by the discipline of the natural environment on the frontier. He feels that the Puritans of New England achieved a higher type of intellectual life, as manifested in the development of elementary, grammar school and higher education, the development of printing, of libraries and even of political and historical literature, verse, and scientific writings, than other groups of settlers who lacked the religious motivation of Puritan culture, the fundamental philosophy of which was that a man could work out his salvation in daily secular tasks as well as in the ministry. He agrees that the Puritan philosophy helped retard the drama and music. He believes the three institutions—the college, the public school system, and the Congregational church—were established on New England soil; that “a veneration for learning, a respect for the humanities, and a habit of considering values other than material” fostered by the Puritans prepared them “to play their part in the coming drama of the Rights of Man”; that the story of the intellectual life of New England in the seventeenth century is “one of the principal approaches to the social and intellectual history of the United States. Primitive New England is a Puritan pronaos to the American mind of the nineteenth century and of today.”

The work is an excellent sociological analysis of the more subtle aspects of the Puritan culture pattern. It does not stop with hasty conclusions based on casual observations of the more overt characteristics of the culture, but sees meaning and effective design in the manner of life. In this respect it is unique, because such an analysis is always much more difficult than dealing with the more tangible aspects of culture patterns and their institutions.

The lectures are in a very readable style and are fairly well documented. The author recognizes Dr. Thomas Goddard Wright's *Literary Culture in Early New England* as his source of inspiration.

Andrews traces the New Haven company settlement from its founding in 1638, through its expansion, to its later absorption into the Connecticut colony in 1665. Its primary value is to the historian of early American settlement rather than to the sociologist because of its primary attention to local historical detail rather than to social and cultural characteristics of the community. The work does show the effect of location and of limited resources on the growth of the colony. Pages 37 to 42 give a brief glimpse

at the barter system of exchange, the agricultural economy, commerce, manners, morals, punishment, architecture, and government of this Puritan colony.

PAUL H. LANDIS

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Social Actions. By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. Publication of the Polish Sociological Institute; New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936. Pp. xix+746.

Social Actions is the most important contribution made by Znaniecki so far in his attempt to construct a system of sociology as a special science, the theory of which he first outlined in his *Cultural Reality* (1919), developed more fully in his *Introduction to Sociology* (Polish, 1922), and restated in final form in *The Method of Sociology* (1934).

Znaniecki holds that sociology, in order to function as a positive, inductive science, exact and descriptive, must focus its attention upon a specific class of data in the domain of culture. The "realm" of culture, according to him, is constituted of a variety of "fields" each of which is characterized by a distinctive kind of activities and corresponding values, as experienced objects of these activities. Thus there exist technical, economic, religious, linguistic, and other systems, each of which is, or should be, the object of a special science, for the discovery of typical structures and repetitive changes, which is the goal of science, is possible only with regard to homogeneous data and systems that are essentially similar in composition. Among cultural data there are activities, the empirical object of which are human beings as values which active subjects experience, influence, and modify. This special class of cultural data Znaniecki considers to be the subject-matter of sociology—a definition, by the way, which is in essential agreement with the definitions given by the leading sociologists who conceive of their science as a limited, specializing discipline. Simmel's "interaction," Wiese's "interhuman behavior," Max Weber's "behavior oriented toward the behavior of others," for example, clearly express a similar point of view.

According to Znaniecki, the class of cultural data studied by sociology fall into four sub-classes (which he calls social systems). These are: (1) social actions; (2) social relations; (3) social persons; and (4) social groups. The task of sociology is to give a complete theory of each of these systems. So far, Znaniecki in his writings has been concerned mainly with the elaboration of the outlines of this theory. In general, his position is that the aim of theory should be the establishment of a *rational* order among phenomena, by means of classification and description of types and patterns, the discovery of "laws of co-existence" between the elements of a system (static laws), and of causal and functional relationships in terms of which the changes of systems should be formulated (dynamic laws). These tasks require that each system be treated as a "closed system," i.e., isolated from the total setting in which it occurs, and that formulations must be expressed in terms of identical, repetitive factors (elements) discoverable through inductive analysis.

Until now these theoretical postulates have been applied by Znaniecki only in fragmentary contributions. We refer in particular to his *The Laws of Social Psychology* (1924), *The Sociology of Education* (Polish, two volumes, 1932), and *Contemporary Man and Modern Civilization* (Polish, 1935), in which he deals with special phases only of the systems of "social actions" and "social persons" respectively.

The book under discussion is the first large-scale attempt by Znaniecki at a systematic treatment of empirical data in conformity with his theoretical postulates. At the outset we are compelled to say that it does not offer any conclusive demonstration of the validity of his general sociological theory. A critical attitude remains, not so much with regard to the analytical procedure, which on the whole is admirable, but with regard to omissions which Znaniecki's rigid definition of sociology imposes upon the discussion of social actions. These omissions are manifest whenever the analysis of a particular type of social action touches upon the wider set-up in which they occur. For example, in his chapter on egoistic compromise, where certain important modes of adjustment of conflicting groups in the economic sphere are discussed, Znaniecki interrupts a most interesting development of the subject with the exclamation: "But this warns us that we have reached the limits of the sociological field, and ought to stop our investigation" (p. 617). These "limits," one feels, are set too arbitrarily. From our point of view, they ignore the fact that there is such a thing as a sociological approach to all social phenomena even if there should be a special class of them which is the exclusive domain of sociology. But it would be unfair at this stage to pass any final judgment on Znaniecki's system. For after all *Social Actions* deals only with one class of sociological phenomena. The expression of a definite opinion must necessarily await a discussion of the other classes, particularly the crucial one on social groups.

Regardless of its bearing on the author's conception of sociology, *Social Actions* is of great value in its own right. It can justly be regarded as the most important contribution to sociology since Wiese-Becker's *Systematic Sociology*.

The book gives us an excellent description and interpretation of inter-human behavior which includes all its major types and variants in a comprehensive and systematic analysis. We agree with Znaniecki on the significance which he attributes to this analysis. He says: "A systematic survey of social actions is a necessary pre-requisite for all social studies. Without knowing what the various ways are in which men deal actively with other men and how those ways have evolved, we cannot understand their efforts to regulate normatively their mutual activities . . . or the positions they individually occupy and the functions they perform in their communities, or the organized groups which they create, maintain and destroy" (p. ix). Relations and groups are, in the last analysis, organized social actions, and can only be understood in reference to them.

Most of the patterns of social actions discussed by Znaniecki cover ground that is familiar to the sociologists, for they have been treated systematically before, notably by Park and Burgess, E. A. Ross, and Wiese.

On the other hand, Znaniecki deals with patterns not generally found in similar treatises, such as educational guidance, revolt, altruism and hostility, and what he calls egoistic compromise. These modes of behavior, usually dealt with by students of education, criminology, and ethics, conform to Znaniecki's definition of sociology, however, for they involve activities the objects of which are other individuals. In consequence the subject-matter treated in *Social Actions* is much richer than in most texts dealing with interhuman behavior.

But this is only a minor distinction. What differentiates *Social Actions* from all similar attempts are:

(1) The rejection of the psychological approach. In his preface Znaniecki gives a very frank account of the history and background of his work. He revised the book completely three times, and wrote and re-wrote parts of it as many as six times during the course of the fifteen years that have gone into the preparation of this book. He started out with the assumption that the multiplicity of social actions can be deduced from a few attitudes that underlie human behavior—a practice well-nigh universally employed by his predecessors. Having a greater abundance of material at his disposal, however, particularly many life-histories collected by the Sociological Institute at Poznań, he soon found that the facts do not fit any theory that can be built upon the assumption of "fundamental psychological forces." Discarding this assumption altogether, he finally adopted the procedure of taking social actions in their empirical concreteness and variety, "trying to order them such as they are, without any *a priori* assumptions concerning their 'psychological source.'" This negative attitude towards the psychological approach is ably defended by Znaniecki in a chapter entitled "Psychology or Sociology?". Here he subjects the introspective method, the biogenetic theory of orthodox behaviorism, and the psychogenetic theory of the Freudian school to searching criticism, and comes to the conclusion that psychology has no valid principles upon which a general theory of action can be based. In the light of this criticism it is hard to see what the sociologists who are still flirting with behaviorism and Freudianism can possibly set forth as an excuse for their predilection.

(2) Adoption of the genetic approach, in contrast mainly to Wiese, who employed the deductive approach in the classification of social processes. In the case of each pattern of social action Znaniecki traces its evolution by showing how it became progressively differentiated from a primary pattern which in turn emerged from elementary social contacts and "interests." Znaniecki's idea that there is a parallelism between the order in which all present social patterns have evolved from a few primitive patterns, and the logical relation which now exist between the various classes of social action as characterized by their patterns, is a significant contribution to methodology.

(3) A scheme of analysis, consistently applied to the interpretation of patterns of social action. It is based primarily on the distinction of the significant elements of which all social actions are constituted, and the assumption of a system of values as a framework that determines individ-

ual conduct. In the course of his analysis Znaniecki develops a number of new terms to designate phenomena that hitherto have not been clearly distinguished by sociologists. This scheme of analysis outlined in the chapter with the composition and structure of social actions must be regarded as the outstanding contribution of the book. Its value is borne out by the remarkable lucidity and insight achieved by Znaniecki in the interpretation of particular patterns, for example, in the chapter dealing with the repression of criminal behavior. Znaniecki does not disclose facts hitherto unknown. But no discoveries in the field of human behavior are possible by the very nature of things. For, social actions are familiar to everybody and their interpretation has to be confirmed ultimately by what we know about them. But we can make our understanding more conscious, more articulate and precise. This Znaniecki accomplishes in an original and suggestive fashion, thus giving us better insight and a more adequate way of expressing ourselves about what we and others are doing.

Znaniecki gives very little of the material which he uses in his analysis. He justifies it on the ground that it would have added two thousand pages to an already bulky volume. The real justification of the exclusion of illustrative material can be sought in the fact, however, that we are dealing with our own world, indeed, with our own "selves" when we analyze social actions, and can find in our own experiences abundant confirmation for the "understanding" of the interpretations advanced by Znaniecki.

Social Actions deserves the closest attention of every student of human behavior. We hope that it will be used extensively as an introduction to sociology, for the book not only will bring the student in contact with basic sociological material but also furnish him with very useful tools of analysis for his own researches.

Nearly one hundred pages of reference material, including a biography with excellent comments, greatly enhance the value of the book.

THEODORE ABEL

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Primitive Behavior. An Introduction to the Social Sciences. By WILLIAM I. THOMAS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. Pp. ix+847. \$5.00.

It is now nearly thirty years, twenty-eight to be exact, since the publication of W. I. Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins* first called the attention of students of human nature and society to the importance of the researches of ethnology and anthropology, "those sciences which," as the author remarks, "stand between biology and civilization." Much water has run under the bridge since that time. The perspective of ethnological investigation has widened. New points of view have emerged. The age of ethnological exploration has come to an end. Anthropological research is no longer as exclusively as it once was a search for museum pieces. The emphasis has shifted from artefacts to institutions and from description to insight. To know that here and there, in remote corners of the world, hu-

man creatures continue to maintain quaint customs is still interesting. On the other hand, the need to understand what these customs mean to the people who practice them, how they function in the life of the individual and the society of which these individuals are a part, has assumed new importance.

There is another respect in which the attitude and emphasis of students of anthropology has changed in recent years. Having studied primitive peoples disinterestedly, and with no practical or political bias, anthropology has begun to turn its attention to civilized peoples. A few anthropologists have even gone so far as to be interested in problems—problems of colonial administration for example. *Vide* the recent volume *Anthropology in Action*, describing a recent experiment designed "to discover to what extent anthropological knowledge can be made applicable to the problems surrounding the administration of an African tribe."¹

Meanwhile sociology, which had its origin in politics and at one time, not so long ago, was described as "the science of reform," has begun to look at civilized man with something of the same detachment and intellectual curiosity with which anthropologists have studied primitive peoples. Anthropology, in so far as it has learned to see the world from the point of view of aliens and savages, has enabled students of contemporary civilization to see civilized life as it actually is; to see, for one thing, how fantastic it is in many of its manifestations and, at the same time, how human and inevitable. All of which has tended to temper the political and reform motive inherent in the sociological tradition.

It is now less than ever possible to distinguish the boundaries that divide the social sciences or the divergent points of view from which sociology and social anthropology view their different subject matters. All these changes in the posture and relative positions of the different social sciences are reflected in the contents, as well as in the title, of the volume *Primitive Behavior*, with which this review is concerned. They are not only reflected but announced in the subtitle, "An Introduction to the Social Sciences," which seems intended to advertise the fact that a knowledge of primitive man will henceforth be regarded as an indispensable approach to studies in social psychology, history, politics, criminology, psychopathology, and education—all of them subjects in which the author of this volume has had something more than a passing acquaintance.

Primitive Behavior was probably undertaken as a revision of the earlier *Social Origins*. It has turned out to be something more and different. It is no longer a source book merely. It is rather a source book which in the course of its evolution has assumed the character of an independent treatise. It covers, as a matter of fact, a much wider range of ethnological literature than *Social Origins*, and only in one or two instances does it contain excerpts from or references to the materials of the earlier publication. From his wide reading in the widely scattered literature of ethnology and social anthropology the author has brought together, within the limits of a single

¹ Brown, G. Gordon and Hutt, A.McD. Bruce, *Anthropology in Action*.

volume, a body of materials which offers the student what is probably the most complete picture of primitive customs and institutions that has thus far been published.

The most entertaining as well as instructive chapter in the volume discusses the relative endowment of races. As evidence that the natives are not lacking in logical acumen, when they are arguing from premises that are valid within the limits of their own universe, the author quotes the record of an argument between David Livingstone and a South African rainmaker. In their discussion (p. 782), Livingstone and the rainmaker both assumed that rain may be secured by supplicating a supernatural being. In that case, as the author points out, and the report of the discussion indicates, "the white man got the worst of the argument."

The most imposing, if not the most important, chapter in the book is that which deals with the subject of diffusion. Here, as elsewhere, the author has attempted less to discuss the theoretic aspects of the problem than to illustrate, by detailed description, the manner in which diffusion has actually taken place.

The subject of cultural diffusion is intimately bound up with the related processes of acculturation by which traits of one culture are assimilated to, and incorporated in, another and different culture. The conditions under which cultural diffusion and acculturation have taken place throw an interesting light on the problems of native government and education—problems which have arisen wherever European expansion has imposed European civilization upon primitive peoples.

From the point of view of theory and method, the most interesting chapters in this volume are those in which the author defines the factors and tendencies upon which he has relied to explain the evolution of culture and human nature. There is, he says, in human behavior an arbitrary factor which makes any such uniform course of "cultural and behavioral evolution," as students have invariably sought for but never found, quite out of the question. Notably: theories which seek to explain the differing cultures of races and peoples as due to differing degrees of mental endowment and inborn racial "psyches" have not been sustained. In any case "such differences (of mental endowment) as may possibly exist have not," he believes, "played a noticeable role in the development of behavior and culture," and group psyches where they obviously exist "are not inborn but developed through experience and habit systems." On the contrary social change and the "advance to the cultural level termed 'civilization'" are the effects of migration, commerce, and communication rather than biological inbreeding and inheritance.

The central problem of "those sciences which stand between biology and civilization" is, then, how, when, and under what conditions has man developed the capacity for abstract thought, the ability to recognize the ideal and typical in the individual and particular? Under what conditions, in short, has man become the discursive, analytical, dialectical and civilized creature he conceives himself to be, and more or less is?

"It is a frequent experience," says the author, "that the problems of a

given situation are soluble only by going outside the situation." In accordance with this principle he has sought an explanation for (1) rationality in man, and (2) the diversities of culture and the irregular course of its evolution, in the instinctive behavior of animals and in the non-rational behavior of human beings.

Custom and habit in man perform the same function and arise in much the same way as instincts in animals. Both can be understood if they are approached and interpreted in terms of "the definition of the situation." All forms of behavior may be construed in terms of adjustment: "an adjustment of any kind," however, "is preceded by a decision to act or not along a given line, and the decision itself is preceded by a *definition of the situation*, that is to say, an *interpretation*, or *point of view*, and eventually a policy...."

"On the social level these definitions and the patterns they initiate are represented by moral and legal codes, political policies, organizations, institutions, etc.; they originate in adjustive reactions, are developed through language, gossip, argument, and conflict; there appear special definers of situations—medicine men, prophets, lawgivers, judges, politicians, scientists; culture epochs and mass conversions (Christianity, Mohammedanism, the German Reformation, the French Revolution, popular government, fascism, communism, prohibition, etc.) are inaugurated by the propaganda of definitions of situations."

Definitions of the situation may arise—do arise, in fact—on the subhuman level. In that case "definitions of the situation are implicit in the nature of the organism." Such, for example, are reactions of the sort called, instincts, unlearned behavior, because "they function without experience." . . . However, they are "learned phylogenetically," that is, "during the life of the species, not the life of the individual."

The definition of the situation on the social, as distinguished from the biological, level occurs when, for reasons often obscure, a cultural pattern turns out to be peculiarly stimulating, and for that reason arouses an interest that is contagious. The typical instance is the introduction of a new fashion. Eventually the fashion becomes fixed in habit and is transmitted by custom.

There is, however, a tendency in human beings—obvious in fashion—to which the author applies the term "perseveration." Once a fashion gets established it tends not merely to persist, but to evolve along the line and in the direction of its original definition or bias. There is a tendency, as the author says, "to step up patterns to unanticipated extremes."

Thus the tendency of the organism and of society to select and give attention to certain aspects of its environment and to neglect others—in short, to define the situation—is supplemented by the tendency to persevere, to respond consistently to selected factors in the environment; namely, to a situation as defined. The effect is that different societies respond in diametrically opposite ways to the same situation; and that all societies tend to step up, often to what seem like fantastic extremes, every custom and every fashion which they adopt.

It is out of the interaction of these two tendencies, which express themselves first of all on the biological level, that the kinds of behavior which on the social level we describe as human and rational seem to arise.

Selective attention and the disposition to act consistently—and eventually according to some formal rule or code—seem to be the fundamental traits that distinguish human beings from the lower animals, and, perhaps, primitive from civilized man.

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Die menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethno-soziologischen Grundlagen. IV. Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Staat und Kultur im Lichte der Völkerforschung. V. Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung des Rechtes im Lichte der Völkerforschung. By RICHARD THURNWALD. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1935, 1934. Pp. xix+377; viii+232. RM 22, RM 18.

These fourth and fifth (concluding) volumes of a monumental work on human society from the point of view of cultural anthropology by one of the world's great ethnologists, should find an indispensable place in the libraries of sociologists who do not limit their interest in social institutions to those found only in our own culture.

Let us begin with volume four, dealing with "state and culture." Aside from the inherent interest of the subject matter, our praise is based on the following characteristics of the work. (1) From the scholarly point of view Professor Thurnwald exhibits, as usual, an exhaustive acquaintance with the literature and a discriminating application of the data found therein. Some fourteen hundred titles are listed in the bibliography which is intensively used throughout the text. As a bibliographical tool alone, this volume, as well as its companions, is valuable to the student of culture. Furthermore, the work is introduced by a careful definition of the principal terms and concepts, a practice which, if followed by more of Professor Thurnwald's contemporaries, might reduce much of the present confusion and quibbling over meanings in the field of culture. (2) The basic theoretical position regarding culture and its many manifestations appears to be so sound as to merit the close attention of all students of cultural problems. The author has refrained from going to theoretical extremes unsupported by observed phenomena, but at the same time has not blinded himself to the more recent contributions of psychology, the functionalist approach, nor the historical method as applied to his subject. For instance, while evidencing a deep interest in the functioning of societies, he does not disdain—in fact, points out—the necessity of viewing a society in the light of its historical background. Again, while bringing out clearly the importance of social and political structures with heavy emphasis upon their relation to environmental, economic, and kinship factors, he constantly keeps before the reader the part which the individual personality plays in the development of culture.

The volume is concerned with so wide a variety of general problems relating to the development and retrogression of political forms in human society that only a brief résumé may be attempted here. The central problem under consideration is that of political control in human society, but, since the author approaches this from the sociological and cultural viewpoint, it might be said to be a treatise on social control among the non-European peoples. Such problems as those of political form, leadership, and their relationship to economic organization, personality, social stratification, religious and kinship concepts, are viewed from the point of view of the cultural situation of the societies under consideration.

The first part of the book is devoted to societary forms and their changes, and discusses the rise of personal leadership under various types of social organization; conditions favorable and unfavorable to the organization of local and kinship groups into larger structures; the relationship between economic organization and social stratification; the functioning of social control among equalitarian types of groups such as bands, clans, and sibs; the development of political power and form based upon social status; forms of personal leadership and their relationship to status, economic organization, historical factors, and personal qualities; and the development of true political states with their frequently concomitant development of slavery in one form or another.

The second part of the book deals with "culture, civilization, and society." The author makes the not too useful distinction between civilization (accumulation of skills and ideas and their application) and culture (the organization and harmonization of the "civilizatory equipment" in a given society at a given time). Here are considered the local and ethnic factors which in one way or another form the bases of all societies; the importance of the family in political forms; extreme and special types of political and social organization; the role of the individual personality in society; and the processes of progress and retrogression in social and political institutions.

In summary, the author demonstrates that political institutions and manifestations must be regarded as the result of the interworking of many interrelated cultural and social factors which are operative not only in the timeless moment, but are also to be viewed as parts of a historical continuum. Occasionally like factors have produced like results in the political (or social control) field, and the fact that Thurnwald draws attention to these parallelisms has led to his designation as a "neo-evolutionist." Nevertheless, the postulation of general or supposedly inexorable laws of social development is indulged in guardedly.

By way of criticism, the present reviewer has only to mention the apparent overemphasis in the use of East African and Melanesian data, the fields of Professor Thurnwald's greatest interest.

It is to be hoped that the publisher has in other copies corrected the overprinting of eight pages which have eliminated much valuable material from the copy under review, as well as the misnumbering of one or two pages in the text and index.

Now for volume five, dealing with law. Comprehensive modern works on the legal arrangements and conceptions of justice among preliterate peoples, by qualified ethnologists, have been rare, if not non-existent, in the literature of the social sciences. Several publications in this field, with reference to particular cultures, such as Malinowski's *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* and Hogbin's *Law and Order in Polynesia*, have awakened students to the vast amount of unformalized material on this aspect of behavior which is available in the "primitive" cultures. Thurnwald's book takes the broader viewpoint, attempting to examine "law" as it functions among the majority of preliterate cultures known to science in all parts of the world. The discussion is consistently brought to bear on the legal arrangements of literate cultures at apposite points.

The author's approach is set forth in the introduction. "If one strips all the rules of human behavior, with their overlay of religio-magical fantasies, to the core, one reaches the conclusion that *reciprocity* is the balance on which the law works, whether as retribution (e.g. blood revenge or retributory punishment), punishment in general, or (in the economic field) as the return of a present, whether as specified payment, or (in the realm of personal relationships) as daughter exchange among communities, marriage rules between groups, bride sale (repayment through specified objects), or (in the field of obligations) in the payment of creditors, service of interest, and the like. On the other hand, apparently one-sided performances are felt to be unjust: vassal taxes and economic service of slaves. Through the organization of interdependent behavior, however, the fundamental law of reciprocity finds expression even in the protection-in-exchange-for-fidelity arrangement between master and followers: the master is obligated to protect, the follower to give taxes and service. *Crime is the violation of reciprocity*" (p. 5). "One may point out that reciprocity is the socio-psychological basis of all law . . . although each culture has its own expressions" (p. 6).

The author first discusses the fundamentals of primitive customary law, showing its strong religious aspect and its frequently private or secret nature. Public law grows out of folk-law, or custom, and finds its earliest expression (from the point of view of cultural development) in formalized blood revenge. The author then takes up the law of things, including real estate law, chattel law, and labor law as encountered among preliterates; then the law of obligations, including retribution, contracts regarding sales, loans, borrowings, rents, real estate tenure, and mortgages. Next, he examines the law of inheritance, then crime and punishment, legal process, including procedure, evidence, officials concerned, and, finally, the importance of political organization for law and justice.

In all of these matters, the author presents the ethnological evidence from three points of view: (1) the comparative geographical, in which he summarizes and compares the forms and functions of the point under consideration in various parts of the world; (2) the functional, from which he shows why, in a given culture and a given environment, certain legal forms and functions emerge from the logic of the situation; and (3) an

evolutionary, or developmental, point of view, from which, with great caution, one may observe in generally similar environments and cultural situations, generalized similarities in legal arrangements appearing, due, presumably, to inherent behavior qualities of the human mind in society. The latter point of view is not prominent, but it is nevertheless present.

JOHN GILLIN

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The Study of Man. By RALPH LINTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936. Pp. 503. \$3.00.

The Study of Man is intended to furnish an understanding of the nature of man and the forces which are operating in society. To this task the author brings a vast store of knowledge gained in his own field researches and teaching experience.

Five chapters provide a background for an understanding of human mentality and of social heredity. Raw materials for society are sought in the sub-human primates in the belief that we have there the most valuable clues to the nature of the earliest human aggregates.

In the chapter on race, the author gives chief credit for physical differences to mutations, isolation, inbreeding and natural selection, but he would replace the word "race" by three terms—"breed," "race," and "stock." His "breed" is "a group of individuals, all of whom vary about a particular norm with respect to each of their physical characteristics." A number of these breeds "whose ideal types have a series of characteristics in common" constitute a "race," while "stocks" are groups of similar races. His "breeds" are "genuine biological entities" but the "races" which are made up of "breeds" are abstractions.

Linton suggests that physical likenesses between widely separated groups may be due to environmental causes rather than common origin. Aside from these somewhat novel suggestions the chapter on human origins and race follow generally accepted lines.

Succeeding chapters cover a wide range, dealing as they do with society, the family, social units determined by blood, local group, tribe and state. A society is considered as "any group of people who have lived and worked together long enough to get themselves organized and to think of themselves as a social unit with well defined limits" (p. 91), while "the functioning of societies depends upon the presence of patterns for reciprocal behavior between individuals or groups of individuals" (p. 113). Within the organization status and role serve to reduce the ideal pattern for social life to individual terms (p. 114).

The sections on invention and diffusion are perhaps the best adapted for the average student, for here the author adopts the method of classroom discussion and illustrates his points by use of homely illustrations. Diffusion is treated as a dynamic force the study of which explains a culture in terms of its past. We follow the spread of cultural elements from group

to group; see one accepted, another rejected, and finally we watch the integration of accepted elements into a pre-existing culture.

The value of classification as an aid to investigation is stressed. Of the schemes now in use the culture area seems to have the widest applicability, but its usefulness might be increased if such terms as "area," with geographic connotation, were to be replaced with "type." Since the content of any culture can be analyzed and placed into compartments, there is need for some purely objective classification of cultural elements which can be used as an aid to analytical studies. Such a scheme is offered by the author, and its practical use is indicated by reference to Comanche culture.

A chapter on function takes for granted considerable knowledge of the various schools of anthropological thought. Given the background this section is a valuable contribution to current discussion. The author doubts that the descriptive generalizations of the functionalists can be legitimately referred to as laws, but he does agree that their claims have given a much needed stimulus to anthropological study.

The Study of Man is a difficult book to review. It covers such a wide field, is so rich in illustrative material, and so fertile in ideas that it must be read to be fully appreciated. It is a valuable addition to the literature of social science and doubtless will have wide use for collateral reading and as a text in social anthropology.

FAY-COOPER COLE

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Art and Society. By HERBERT READ. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. 282. \$4.00.

The work starts well, in assuming that "art is a mode of knowledge, and the world of art is a system of knowledge as valuable to man . . . as the world of philosophy or the world of science" (p. xix). Its first two chapters devoted to a typological outline of the paleolithic, neolithic, and primitive art are also not bad. Saying little original, the author outlines ably the relationship between art and magic and art and mysticism, as it has been elaborated by other investigators. Here he is on the right track, distinguishing two fundamentally different types of the plastic art: the "abstract" (or ideational, in my terminology) and "visual." Subsequent chapters, however, are disappointing. In these chapters he forgets about his fundamental division of the above two types of art and does not carry it through. Likewise, one does not find in these chapters any integrated theory or principle or system. Nor do they give any systematic or even coherent analysis of the relationship between art and social factors. The author in an incoherent manner now mentions the decisive role of the climatic factors (pp. 92, 105, 121); now soil; now economic conditions; now Freudian "ego"; now Lévy-Bruhl's theory of primitive mentality; now class composition of the society; now Karl Marx; now Ruth Benedict; now this, now that; without going seriously into any real analysis of the relationships between art and these factors; and, what is much worse, without putting

into elementary order all these factors and relationships he mentions. Here and there one meets a glimmering of an interesting idea, but as soon as it is mentioned, it is dropped and the author proceeds to something different and so throughout the whole work.

Considering that we have a large and thoughtful literature in the field, a vast number of excellent monographs, a number of most fundamental studies that elucidate well the relationship between art-phenomena and this or that social and cultural factor, a conscientious reader is entitled to expect a fairly good popular work that embodies the essential results of such studies and investigations. This work does not achieve that level: the level of a good popular digest of the existing studies. To a layman it can give few inklings; its beautiful plates are pleasant to look upon; but that is about all it gives. The only exceptions are the first two chapters mentioned. They are much better than the rest of the boook. The literature used is very limited. Even in the first two chapters such fundamental works as Boas's *Primitive Art* are not mentioned at all. For those who are unacquainted at all with art theories, however, the work may be useful as an elementary introduction to the field.

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The Natural History of a Social Institution—the Y.W.C.A. By MARY S. SIMS. New York: The Woman's Press, 1936. Pp. x+251. \$2.50.

Social Institutions. By LLOYD VERNOR BALLARD. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936. Pp. xii+514. \$4.00.

The Sims book is a semi-popular treatment of the origins and development of what has grown to be one of the significant secondary and specialized institutions of modern times. The first three chapters give a rapid chronological review of its growth by major periods: 1855-1871, the beginning; 1871-1906, the period of the development of functions and activities; and 1906-1934, the years of expansion and specialization of personnel. The next seven chapters depict the various social changes which involved this service organization for girls and younger women and the ways in which they were met. The concluding chapter is a sober and frank glance into the future of the organization. Although the book is devoid of usable sociological conclusions and is not profound, it is quite scientific in method and treatment. It should prove very useful to its intended constituency, and will serve as case material for the student of social institutions.

For example, Ballard could find use for it when his book reaches the revision stage. The systematic study of social institutions is coming into its own after years of neglect. This is the second book of major importance on the subject to appear in a little over a year, the other being Chapin's *Contemporary American Institutions*. The value of Ballard's book does not lie in the contribution which it makes to the fundamental theory of social institutions, for such materials in it are extremely meager (even from the point of view of space given, amounting to only two short chapters out of

thirty-one); rather its significance rests on the fact that it is a most painstaking and encyclopedic condensation and systematization of the extant literature dealing with a selected group of typical contemporary social institutions. It is, in fact, the most concise summary of the best knowledge about these specific institutions that the reviewer has seen—a veritable handbook of information regarding their nature, functions, processes, chief organizational forms, underlying and overlying values, lags and limitations. It is a book which could not have appeared much earlier; it shows dependence upon the spade-workers in the field of institutional theory, and upon the now rapidly growing body of facts, principles, and conclusions.

Social Institutions is a mature book, obviously the product of years of careful work. The treatment is broad and comprehensive, logical and well-analyzed, systematic and clearly written. While it is realistic, it is at the same time constructive and somewhat critical.

The author roughly classifies the institutions which he treats (incidentally this reveals the content of the book) into three groups: (1) the *basic* institutions, namely, industry, which he does not treat, and the family, the church, the school, and the state; (2) the *sanctioned* institutions, including recreation centers, health clinics, public libraries, and social settlements; and (3) the *emergent* institutions, such as the court of justice, the research organization, the museum, the motion picture, radio broadcasting, and the newspaper. In the absence of a generally accepted standard classification, this is probably as good as any other. The question may be raised, however, as to whether *all* institutions are not "sanctioned," regardless of their ranking in some theoretical scale of development or importance. The book also, due to its method of presentation and the absence of any statement to the contrary, gives the impression that institutions exist with a high degree of separateness. As a matter of fact, all institutions are unavoidably interrelated and interdependent, both structurally and functionally, and even when examined as to the major functions performed they appear as clusters. The author's clearcut treatments of the institutions selected tends to oversimplify the problem which confronts the student of social organization. Many other questions arise throughout one's reading of the book, particularly with respect to some of the points included in the schematic presentations; but since the body of thought about institutions is still largely a matter of individual approach rather than that of a co-operative scientific group, discussion would largely take the form of more or less vain dialectic. The whole problem of the definition and classification of institutions will continue to be "up in the air" until the leading students of institutions get together and come to some decision on important points, and standardize the concepts and terms.

Nevertheless, the author's chapters as a whole on the modern family, the state, and the educational system are excellent presentations, comprehensive and widely inclusive, and at the same time remarkably compact and concise. The book is valuable, and will not only be used by all sociologists teaching courses in social institutions, social organization, social con-

trol, or courses with similar content, but will be gratefully received by the members of allied crafts and professional groups.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Family Behavior; A Study of Human Relations. By BESS V. CUNNINGHAM. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1936. Pp. 471. \$2.75.

Sex-Education, rev. ed. By MAURICE A. BIGELOW. New York: American Social Hygiene Assn., 1936. Pp. 307. \$1.00.

Children's Civic Information, 1924-1935. By WILLIAM H. BURTON. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1936. Pp. 307.

The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior-Problem Children. By HARRY J. BAKER and VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. 393. \$2.50.

Cunningham's book, *Family Behavior*, aims to give the young college student an objective view of the many-sidedness of family life and the human relations involved. The book is simply yet pleasingly written, and is well abreast of recent researches. The psychological coverage, however, seems greatly to outweigh the sociological. For example, monogamy is explained in terms of "habit psychology" instead of institutionalized patterning. The analysis of family dynamics in terms of interacting roles of family members, material on family tensions and discord, and trends in family pattern and type are conspicuously absent.

Bigelow's revised book on *Sex-Education* represents a voice from the era of "purity leagues." While its bibliography—although far from adequate coverage—is fairly up-to-date, its textual material is quite outmoded. The book contains the representative stereotyped notions of the older social hygiene leaders, mixed with practical suggestions now pitifully lagging in a frank, realistic age. Two excerpts may serve to show the pitch of the book: "Normal boys require pockets, but they should open at the waist band and not at the side of the hips" (p. 140); "The young man should know that the great majority of prostitutes do not willingly undertake the shameful business of selling their virtue" (p. 164).

Burton's meritorious research monograph on *Children's Civic Information, 1924-1935* can be highly recommended to educational sociologists. Its significance can be gleaned from the following important findings: "The economic status of the home through its effect on cultural contacts and experiences, was the factor most closely correlated with the amount of information possessed by groups of pupils"; "The out-of-school contacts supplied a larger proportion of the information than did the school"; "The influence of the school increased steadily through the grades."

Baker and Traphagen of the Psychological Clinic of the Detroit Public Schools report in their book, *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior-Problem Children*, on their experience with the use of a case record scale of

behavior factors. The rating scale is presented as an instrument of diagnosis for individual case studies of problem children. A weighted total score on sixty-six items is obtained. Each item is scored on a five-point scale by the examiner's estimation of the data he elicits from the child and parents. Behavior cases show a lower median total score than non-behavior cases. What would happen to the individual total scores if examiners did not know whether they were dealing with problem or non-problem children? Would Miss X. make the same ratings as Dr. Y. on the same child? The work is a significant start in the direction of developing a reliable and adequate diagnostic instrument which can substitute for detailed case studies in agencies of high case loads. The instrument needs to be refined. The incidental discussion of child behavior problems is good and sound. The authors show no familiarity with sociological studies of delinquency (with the possible exception of two works by the Gluecks).

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Vanderbilt University

Prisons and Beyond. By SANFORD BATES. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. 334. \$3.50.

Few are the administrators in the penal or correctional field who can write interestingly and yet cautiously on the subject of penology. Among them are Warden Lawes of Sing Sing, Miriam Van Waters of the Massachusetts Women's Reformatory, and Sanford Bates, the author of this book. Bates has behind him a career which fittingly prepared him for the writing of the book—training as a lawyer, service as a State senator in the legislature, commissioner of penal institutions for the City of Boston, head of the Department of Correction of Massachusetts, and for the past eight years head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Also Bates has been president of the American Prison Congress, has travelled widely visiting penal and correctional institutions in many countries, and has known personally the most important administrators and academic authorities in the field of penology.

In telling the story of the development of the Federal Prison Bureau, Bates discusses a great many of the theoretical and practical problems engrossing the attention of academic penologists and of prison administrators. He sees clearly the defects of the retributive theory of justice, the limitations of severity as a deterrent to criminals and the hopefulness of a humane, firm but scientific approach to the handling of the criminal. His description of the institutions for Federal offenders, institutions which owe so much to his own understanding and energy, shows how far under proper leadership Congress can be led in appropriations and measures to make Federal penal and correctional institutions models for the States. He is not afraid of psychiatry and other phases of modern medicine as aids in understanding and readjusting warped personalities. He presents unanswerable arguments for parole and probation, and demonstrates that the present journalistic hullabaloo over parole is based on a citation of only

part of the facts available to any person desiring to know the truth. He confutes the cavillers against these modern methods of handling the prisoner, not by invective, but by a presentation of the facts and with so reasonable a spirit that no sincere person can take offence. The place of social workers in the institution, of the classification committee, and of self-government for those prisoners who show themselves able to work the system, are shown to be not fads but necessary parts of a program based upon the knowledge that ninety-eight per cent of all prisoners will come out of the institution and the belief that a certain proportion of them are amenable to a changed outlook on life. Prison labor for Bates, as for all of us who have studied the problem, is the hard nut to crack. He believes that the state-use system is the solution, but points out some of the difficulties. Even the manufacturers and the labor unions, who were vociferous in their support of that system when they were fighting contract labor in the prisons, are now becoming dubious of the state-use system. Apparently they are willing to have prisoners idle. For the prison administrator state-use appears to be only a stage in a long retreat.

The author envisages such changes in the treatment of the prisoner in the future as will substitute for the large-walled prisons of the present with severely repressive discipline, prison farms, hospitals, probation, parole, educational institutions and penal colonies—of maximum security like Alcatraz or of minimum security like McNeil's Island—for certain classes of incorrigible prisoners. In every case the institution selected for a man and the treatment given should be based upon a careful scientific study of the individual and individualized and group treatment based upon such study.

Very few errors of fact are to be found in this well-written and beautifully printed book. For anyone who wishes to understand the methods and spirit employed in handling the offender of the United States' laws this book is indispensable.

J. L. GILLIN

University of Wisconsin

The Molly Maguire Riots. By J. WALTER COLEMAN. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1936. Pp. viii+189. \$3.00.

Some seventy years ago the hard coal counties of Pennsylvania were torn by murder, ambush, assassination, and just plain thuggery. Apologists and advocates have written altogether too much about the reasons for the outbreaks, and opponents of the Mollies have written far too much about the sins of the thugs. Among all the volumes which have appeared to date there runs the little red line of special pleading. Mr. Coleman has added yet another book dealing with the struggles of the 1870's, when the armed forces of labor pitched their tents against the armed forces of the owners, and the result is the same—another book which leaves the problem right where it was. Mr. Coleman has done a worthwhile job of resurrecting the *verbatim* testimony of the trials and has given to posterity the names of the jurors. He has also added an implicit apology for the work, or lack of

it, on the part of the Catholic clergy in the struggles of the immigrant miners who made up the membership of the so-called Molly Maguires. But he has failed to place the conflicts within the larger framework of the American labor movement. And that, it seems to this reviewer, is the job which must be undertaken sometime by the social historian.

Anyone familiar with the history of American labor knows that industrial strife always presupposes an opposing force well heeled with financial resources to crush out any militant labor organization. This was just as true in 1870 as it is today. When the Irish miners of the anthracite regions felt their power slipping they resorted to the oldest technique known to man—elimination. The means of elimination have always been subordinate to the eventual objective in mind. Elsewhere I have disagreed with Mr. Bimba and Mr. James Steel as to the meaning of the struggle between the immigrant Irish miners and the miners of other national origins. The salient fact in industrial crises is the determination to triumph, and it matters little who suffers so long as the right side wins.

There was not only a cultural conflict between two forces; also, it took place in an isolated region where the authority of the state was merely nominal. Laborers living in such elemental areas are not likely to question the ethical bases of their procedure. To say that there were as many murders in these counties when the Mollies were not active is to dodge the whole issue. The fact is, murder took place when the Mollies were powerful and that is the reason for the book or it has no reason. Somebody had to yield. The immigrant miners believed they had the right on their side. The owners did not think so—hence a battle. If this is good Marxian doctrine, it is all right with me.

One major omission should be noted and that is any extended discussion of the *nonpareil* treachery of James McParlan, the greatest labor spy of all time. It is a genuine shame Mr. Coleman did not speak out manfully on what he learned from the many persons he said were living during the riots. Their story and what they thought of McParlan's work and its effect upon organized labor would have been worth far more, from the standpoint of American industrial development, than what some obscure priest wrote to another equally obscure priest.

J. P. SHALLOO

University of Pennsylvania

Metodi Compiti E Limiti Della Psicologia Nello Studio E Nella Prevenzione Della Delinquenza. By FR. AGOSTINO GEMELLI. Milan: Societa Editrice "Vita E Pensiero," 1936. Pp. xiv+155.

It seems that the controversy started by Lombroso late in the nineteenth century will never end. There is always someone ready to begin it all over again. One of the principle tasks of Gemelli's book is to give the already severely punished criminal anthropology a few more blows. The book is interesting in that it is written by a professor teaching in an Italian university. It is still more interesting because it attacks a school of criminology that holds a place of prominence in Italy.

The chief argument of the author centers about the proposition that it is no longer admissible to state that crime is the necessary resultant of a degenerate hereditary condition. Further, he doubts the necessity for a criminal anthropology—a science that has no facts upon which to base its theoretical justification for existing. Gemelli believes that the study of crime and the criminal in order to be of value for purposes of prevention must strive to observe all factors that play a part in determining criminal behavior. This endeavor must, however, and above all, focus upon the psychology of the criminal because it is only in this manner that knowledge of the dynamics of crime can be obtained. A knowledge of the dynamics of crime will furnish the basis for an effective program of crime prevention. The author gets comfort out of the fact that official statistics indicate that the crime rate in Italy has dropped since 1932. This, he claims, is one of the noteworthy results of the renovations effected by the Fascist government, and it demonstrates the untenable character of criminal anthropology.

It seems that Gemelli is arguing for what is usually known as the "case-study" approach to the etiology of crime. This method of study has already had considerable use, and his failure to mention these studies is difficult to explain. The book is made up of a number of previously published works of the author. Professor Gemelli occupies the chair of experimental psychology at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart at Milan.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

Sing Sing Criminals. By SAMUEL KAHN. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1936. Pp. xiii+187. \$2.50.

Dr. Kahn, with a formidable array of degrees following his name, was at one time attached to the clinic at Sing Sing Prison, and in this brief work sets forth the results of all manner of tests and examinations performed upon 275 convicts. He is fully aware of the inadequacy of the sample both from the standpoint of number and representativeness. His purpose is simply to set forth what was found in the cases of these 275.

The presentation shows careful and scrupulous adherence to objectivity except where he pronounces capital punishment as "a relic of barbarism" (which it is!). There is nothing herein presented, however, which has not been known to every literate criminologist for a long time, with the exception of what was found when the autopsies were performed upon electrocuted criminals.

His conclusions from the exhaustive tests and examinations reveal the astounding fact that "the degree of frequency for the following factors indicates that a combination of all these factors occurred in the majority of cases": broken home, or defective home situation; first born; leaving home before 16th year; beginning work at or before 16th year; leaving school before 14th year; difficulty in keeping up with school standards; truancy; no constructive leisure-time activities (over 50% spent their leisure time in such valuable pursuits as gambling, pool, cards, church, chas-

ing women, gangs, drinking, street corners); no occupational training, low earning capacity, insecurity and irregularity in position, poor living conditions; mental deficiency, low-grade mentality, or mental deviations.

All of these tests and examinations are displayed, set forth, presented, depicted, analyzed, and delineated in percentage tables, frequency tables, bar diagrams, block diagrams, pie diagrams, and simple line graphs.

There is a bibliography of 93 titles.

J. P. SHALLOO

University of Pennsylvania

The American People: Studies in Population. Ed. by LOUIS I. DUBLIN. Philadelphia: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nov. 1936. Vol. 188. Pp. xii+396. \$2.00.

Le Destin des Races Blanches. By HENRI DECUGIS. Paris: Librairie de France, 2nd ed., 1936. Pp. x+565.

L'Espèce Humaine. Extrait, Tome VII, L'Encyclopédie Française. By MAURICE HALBWACHS and ALFRED SAUVY. Paris, 1936.

L'Espèce, la Race, et le Metissage en Anthropologie. Introduction à l'Étude de l'Anthropologie Générale. By HENRI NEUVILLE. Paris: Masson et Cie, Éditeurs, 1933. Pp. 515. 200 francs.

The Population Problem in Egypt. By WENDELL CLELAND. Lancaster: Science Press, 1936. Pp. xii+134.

Population Trends in Minnesota. By R. W. MURCHIE and M. E. JARCHOW. Bulletin 327, May 1936, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota. Pp. 99.

Population Distribution in Colonial America. By STELLA H. SUTHERLAND. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xxxii+353. \$4.00.

It is impossible in a short review to do more than call attention to the valuable collection of papers, edited by Dr. Dublin, covering 359 pages, and devoted to present population conditions, trends and policies in this country and elsewhere. The papers are grouped under the following headings: "Reproduction" (7 papers); "Mortality and Morbidity" (6 papers); "Population Increase and Structure" (5 papers); "Relation of Population to Resources" (8 papers); "World Population Problems" (4 papers); and "Organization of Population Research" (3 papers). Among the contributors of these thirty-three papers one finds most of those now actively engaged in population research in this country. While the papers inevitably differ in quality of workmanship, in pertinence to current issues and in value as original contributions, they maintain an extraordinarily high quality for so varied a collection. Dr. Dublin is to be warmly congratulated on his selection of contributors. The collection is indispensable to every serious student of population questions. One may add that it is high time more

political scientists, economists and sociologists informed themselves on current population research.

The one serious omission in the volume is the complete absence of any reference to questions of population quality. These questions are doubtless more controversial than questions of the growth and distribution of population. They are both more intangible and more fraught with emotional values. They are, however, quite possibly far more important for the future welfare of the country than some of the matters here so interestingly discussed. There is no finer example of the romantic Rousseauism which still afflicts certain otherwise realistic minds than the notion that the population mass contains an inexhaustible supply of latent talent.

The somewhat extraordinary book by Decugis is a survey of the present position of Europe in world affairs, written from a viewpoint which many will consider pessimistic, but which is nevertheless objective and analytical. As André Siegfried says in a truly brilliant introduction, the book "is a valuable mine of facts, information and reasoned judgments." Siegfried also notes that "no question is more real and none more troubling, the more so because we are ill-prepared to face it squarely than the 'crisis of Europe,' especially since the eventual decadence of the old continent would have seemed quite improbable a short twenty-five years ago."

Decugis, starting out from a survey of the vital and material losses of the war, shows in the next fourteen chapters changes in as many aspects of economic life. There follow in sixteen chapters studies of the changes in the political, cultural, financial, demographic, religious and moral aspects of European culture and of the comparative position of Europe in contrast to America and the newer and rising powers of Asia.

The main conclusions are clear: Europe has lost its position of obvious and acknowledged leadership in the world; is struggling in a morass of difficulties (enormous debt, old industrial equipment, ill-balanced economic life, an up-rooted, urbanized and proletarianized population, dying out of its élite, decay of the family, socialization of property, etc.), which it cannot overcome and which are even enhanced by the efforts at solution; has lost its nineteenth century markets irretrievably and faces an almost inevitable decline in its standard of living; and nevertheless (or perhaps for these reasons), seems bent on committing hara-kiri.

The book is a veritable encyclopedia of current world economic and sociological data, well documented but not all relevant. Comparisons between countries and between the general trends in modern Europe and in the ancient cultures of China, India, Greece, and Rome are numerous and highly suggestive. It's a useful book for the light-headed type of romantic optimist to read and ponder. At the same time one might call it "The Pessimist's Lament," were such a title taken seriously and not derisively. The author is consistent in his pessimism even when his facts are not homogeneous. Nor does he offer much in the way of solutions. Not impossibly there are no solutions, if one sticks to what is practicable and avoids utopian dreams. It is an impressive book, nevertheless, and will stir the mind of every serious reader.

The monumental work by Neuville is *Mémoire 11* in the *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, founded by Albert I, Prince of Monaco. It is a survey of the literature dealing with the definition and classification of races and the problems of race mixture. It is typically French in that it is clear and seeks to reach its conclusions by balancing opinions and by logical criticism. It makes no effort to open up new lines of exploration; it presents no new data. Authorities of the past generation are cited without discrimination or depreciation alongside those of the past few years. The survey is international, the citations from American, English and German authors being especially numerous. Certainly nearly all the best general works are cited, though the monographic and periodical literature is largely neglected.

After a general survey of the concepts of race and classification of races given by well-known anthropologists, the author devotes a long chapter to various researches on race mixture, leading to the conclusions that little that is precise is yet known, especially regarding the biological processes; that ancient types tend to reappear and to be preserved in a mixed population; and that the results of mixture are good when the stocks are good and bad when bad. He then inquires (Chapter III) into the Mendelian, serological and pathological evidences; (Chapter IV) into the mental characteristics of races (utilizing mostly impressionistic opinions); (Chapter V) into racial adaptation and selection; (Chapter VI) into the significance of culture and of characteristic bodily movements; and (Chapter VII) into the aesthetic achievements of the black races, apropos the views of Elie Faure.

The conclusions derived from this long survey are: (1) There was a time when small groups of men, well differentiated racially, existed; (2) some of these primary stocks have disappeared; (3) among the remainder the crossings have been so numerous and so diverse that every possible degree of variation has been filled in; (4) there seems little evidence of the so-called disharmonies due to race crossing; (5) the Mendelian theory has thus far yielded scant results, and besides is not the only theory of heredity; (6) serological studies have failed to reveal the ancient primary stocks, but do show world-wide mixture; and (7) culture depends on the individual variate regardless of so-called race.

These conclusions will, in general, be familiar to American scholars. The author is obviously not well versed in the recent literature on human inheritance and social biology. What the other theory or theories of inheritance may be is not clear. While this survey of literature has its value, and in some cases brings together useful data on the racial history of certain groups—notably the Catalan and Provençal populations, neither in its mode of attack nor in actual content will this work commend itself to those who seek greater clarification of the issues involved in the differences and the mixture of races. Neuville's good sense and the viewpoints indicated by the dominant traditions of the French nation guide him to conclusions generally acceptable in this country; but he sheds no new light and seems not to have followed very far those technical methods whereby alone more light may be acquired.

The section of the new *Encyclopédie Française* is devoted to population, viewed mainly from the demographic viewpoint, but with attention to various sociological questions related thereto. Printed in 9-point and 8-point type, these 90 pages constitute a fairly extensive treatise, both factual and theoretical, of population growth and distribution, births, deaths, marriages, divorces, sex-ratios, migration, population density, and the outlook for the future. Little attention is paid to the history of population theory, but attention is given to certain aspects of current theory, such as the logistic theory of population growth and limit, problems of the sex-ratio (considered at length), problems of illegitimacy, and Gini's theory of population cycles. While French statistics are fully presented, nearly all matters are presented in international comparisons. The treatment is often necessarily brief but always clear, and the critical comments are pointed, so that the whole makes not only a valuable reference work but, for an encyclopedia treatment, an unusually interesting one.

Cleland's study of the Egyptian population situation is scholarly and revealing. That population, with the highest birth and death rates in the world and growing rapidly, now exceeds 15,000,000, or twice the estimated population of Ancient Egypt. The density of over 1000 per square mile or five persons for every two acres of cultivable land, together with the slight industrial development and resources, leads the author to the conclusion that Egypt is greatly overpopulated. By concrete illustration he shows that, with intelligent management, the soil could be made equally productive even were the fellahs reduced by 5,000,000. The available demographic data are critically and fully analyzed; and in Part II, "The Standard of Living," it is shown that seven percent of the population own seventy percent of the land; that 13,000,000 peasants suffer almost universally from eye disease, bilharzia, ancylostoma, malnutrition and undernourishment. Yet the patriotic nationalistic-minded Egyptian official dreams of a population of 30,000,000! Every student of population will thank Mr. Cleland for his painstaking and suggestive study. It reveals an urgent problem calling for the application of the modern scientific knowledge of engineer, agriculturist and physician, not to mention high-minded statesmanship.

The Minnesota study is a careful analysis of the growth, nativity, migration, urbanization, age, sex, marital status, vital statistics, illiteracy and schooling of the state's population. It utilizes almost exclusively Federal Census reports and centers attention on 1930. Like other studies recently made in other states, it should be especially useful to state officials and all persons planning the state's further development.

Miss Sutherland has brought together all available evidence as to the numbers and distribution of the American population around 1775. That population consisted of 2,000,000 whites, 90 percent British, 10 percent German, and 533,000 Negroes. She has made skillful use of early censuses and tax lists, located in a nation-wide search, and has visualized the settlement of the entire seaboard in three large spot maps. It is an invaluable contribution.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Interracial Marriage in Hawaii. By Romanzo Adams. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. xvii+353. \$4.00.

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Introduction à la Sociologie. By Armand Cuvillier. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1936. Pp. 208. 10.50 francs.

The History of the Haymarket Affair. By Henry David. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936. Pp. xii+579. \$4.00.

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The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. By James Dombrowski. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. ix+208. \$2.50.

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